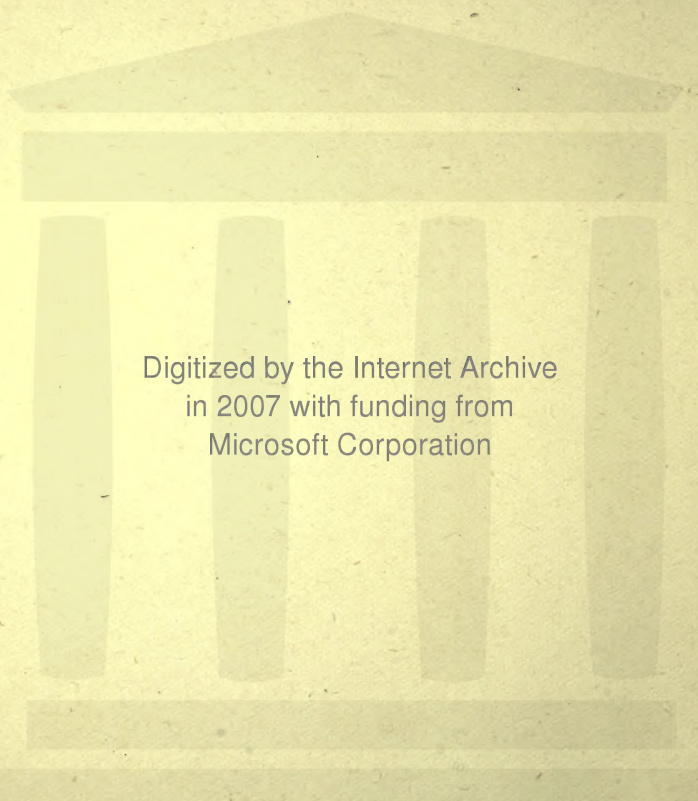


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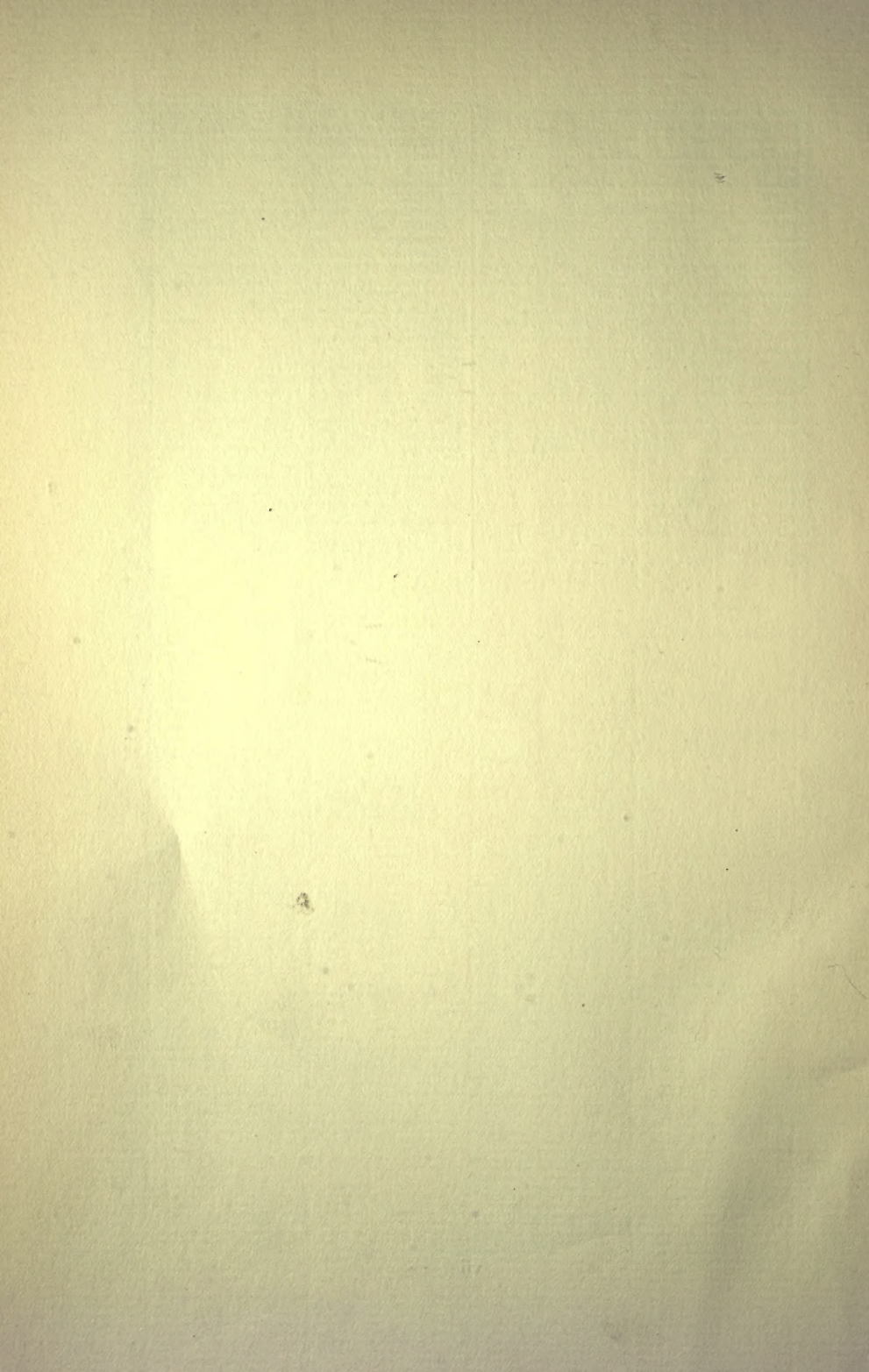


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JOURNAL OF MISS SUSAN WALKER

March 3d to June 6th, 1862

Edited

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CINCINNATI, OHIO  
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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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The Journal of Miss Susan Walker, published in this issue of the *Quarterly*, covers only a few weeks of the many years she devoted to charitable work, and was, undoubtedly, merely a memorandum of daily proceedings for personal use during her stay at Port Royal. However, it holds much of interest to the reader as it furnishes an insight into the daily routine life of the women who engaged in the "Port Royal Experiment," and exhibits her views of the surrounding conditions and the effort made by the Government to provide for the deserted slaves in that locality, and preserve the uncared for cotton growing in the fields. The original manuscript journal was given to the Society by Mrs. Maria (Walker) Bartholow, a niece of Miss Walker, and the widow of the distinguished physician, Dr. Roberts Bartholow, formerly of Cincinnati, later of Philadelphia. Mrs. Nicholas Longworth and Miss Ann Walker of this city are also nieces, and Dr. E. W. Walker is a nephew.

The following article was published December, 1887, in the Lowell, Mass., Courier:

### "A Remarkable Woman.

The Useful Career of Miss Susan Walker—Her Work for the Freedmen.

The death of Miss Susan Walker, which occurred in Washington, D. C., on the 13th inst., has removed from earth a lady who, through her somewhat remarkable career of life, her interest and activity in the political and educational questions which were prominent in the country's agitation a quarter of a century ago, has attached her name and fame [sic], and rendered herself in no small degree conspicuous for her many eminent traits of character and brilliant successes in the line of duty which she early marked out to pursue.

Miss Walker was born in Wilmington, Mass., February 14, 1811, and was the daughter of Benjamin and Susannah Walker of that town. She was a sister of the late Benjamin Walker, one of the early settlers of the city of Lowell, and active in both its city and town affairs, being for several years a selectman and also a member of the first board of aldermen when Lowell became a city.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune pays the following tribute to Miss Walker's memory: Miss Susan Walker is dead,

and yesterday she was buried with something of civic honors. She was so celebrated as philanthropist, politician, mathematician, and "strong-minded" woman in the best sense of that somewhat overworked phrase, that her friends in the Unitarian church were joined by pall-bearers assigned from the different departments—S. I. Kimball, superintendent of the life-saving service; A. B. Johnson, chief clerk of the lighthouse board; Dr. C. A. White, chief paleontologist of the Smithsonian institute, and Prof. Henry Garnett, head of the topographical corps of the geological survey. Her life was a romance and her death a tragedy. A highly-educated young woman from Massachusetts, a fervent abolitionist, and of a highly respectable family, she early made the acquaintance of public men and became known as an influential partisan, and an associate of Sumner, Andrew, Phillips, Garrison, and Greeley. In 1858 in Paris, she occupied the first floor of a hotel where Senator Sumner in the *entresol* was undergoing the terrible treatment of *moxa* for the injuries received from Preston L. Brooks, and she made herself his constant and useful companion. At the beginning of the war she came to this city, and subsequently established what is now known as "Brewster Cottage," in the Le Droit suburb, although originally a colored female industrial school, which was under Miss Walker's charge, averaging not less than 70 pupils. Here also many important conferences were held in relation to the policy of caring for and educating freed women.

Miss Walker was, for years, employed by the coast survey office, then under charge of her brother, Sears Cook Walker, as a mathematical expert, making computations of an elaborate and difficult character. . . .

During the war Miss Walker was well known as a leader in the care of soldiers and the education of the freedmen. Several of the measures providing for the latter owe their success directly to her. Sumner, Seward, Chase, Wade, Stanton, Hale, Lovejoy and Colfax were among her chief advisers and with whom she held frequent consultations. . . . Another brother was Judge Timothy Walker of Cincinnati, an eminent lawyer and author of "Walker's Introduction to American Law." . . . She was a woman of somewhat masculine appearance, with a large frame, dominated by a powerful intellect, and unusually quick sympathies."

It was a proud day in the career of Flag-Officer Du Pont when, on November 7, 1861, Fort Walker on Hilton Head Island, off the coast of South Carolina, was captured by the Union fleet. Nine days previously he had boldly sailed out of the Chesapeake with his fifty ships besides transports carrying 1500 troops under the command of General Thomas W. Sherman. This land and naval force was directed to make a joint attack on Port Royal, South Carolina, a point midway between Charleston and Savannah and controlling the railroad which joined them. Obedience to this order explains the surrender of Fort Walker. The Confederate Brigadier-General Thomas F. Drayton had to



contend alone with the naval force; co-operation was rendered impossible since the greater part of the means of disembarkment had been lost *en route*; moreover, the transports had anchored five or six miles from a suitable place for embarkation.<sup>1</sup> In the battle the Flag-Officer conducted himself with consummate skill and bravery, and was highly complimented by General Sherman who from the disadvantage of his position was compelled to be a mere spectator. The reduction of the fort was immediately followed by the evacuation of the neighboring points by the inhabitants who fled from the main land, leaving Hilton Head, the adjoining islands, and adjacent coast for the victorious force to occupy. General Sherman was in charge of the army of occupation in this region which is known in the language of contemporary writers as Port Royal. The Union forces now held one of the best harbors along the south Atlantic and used it as a base from which coast and inland operations were conducted.

Of the points which fell into the hands of the Union forces at this time, Beaufort, at the head of the sound, was the most conspicuous. Here were the homes of some of the first families of the south, the Barnards, the Haywards, Rhett, Stuarts and others. A contemporary described them as looking "with a supercilious disdain upon every useful employment save only the planting of cotton. Nowhere on this continent is family hauteur and pride carried to such extremes as here. Nothing in our largest cities can equal the display of carriages and equipages with the servants in livery which may be seen here on a pleasant afternoon, when the mothers and daughters of these cotton lords take their accustomed airing."<sup>2</sup> The fortunes of war changed all this, and the lordly planters of the lovely town with its flower gardens, orange trees, and tranquil homes withdrew, leaving only the negro population behind. Aside from the exportation of the cotton crop there had been little business; local exchange was confined chiefly to the negroes who brought their vegetables and chickens to the Jewish merchants.

The abandoned slaves remained upon their respective plantations, each family living, happy and dirty, in a little cabin 16 x 24, often without a partition. On the Sabbath day they

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<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, vol. VI, 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Boston Journal*, 24 Feb., 1862.

gathered around the family table for hominy, corn bread, and potatoes, but on other days they satisfied their hunger while sitting on floor or bench, separate or together, as it happened.<sup>3</sup> A few slaves had been forced to follow their fleeing masters who occasionally shot down those who refused; all had been warned that the Union troops would send them to Cuba. This caused the abandoned slaves to view with suspicion the soldiers stationed at the forts, and they avoided them at first, remaining closely upon the plantations until the falsity of the warning became manifest. Their first evidence perhaps was the reception on the Wabash of General Drayton's two hundred servants, who, the moment he took to his horse in the panic of the seventh, went directly to this ship. This reception convinced them that the Federal army was friendly and with the failing of subsistence on the plantations, accelerated by the foraging of the soldiers, they began to trudge into the Union lines. The women, children and the decrepit came first—of 150 first arrivals only 60 were able bodied. In a few months however, at the lowest estimate<sup>4</sup> 9000, comprising all classes, were within the Union quarters, a number not surprising in view of the fact that the proportion of whites to blacks, 1 to 5, in this region was only surpassed by seven counties in the United States. How to care for this poor, ignorant population, incapable of self-direction and deprived of its constitutional guardians was a problem for the government at Washington.

Another problem which demanded governmental solution was the abandoned cotton crop. When the planters fled they left a great amount of cotton, some of which was not yet picked. This was the region of the famous South Sea Island cotton which flourished within the influence of the soft and elastic atmosphere of the Gulf stream. It seldom yielded over 200 pounds to the acre but commanded a high price. It was marketed mainly in France where it was manufactured into choice laces and fancy silks, especially the cheaper weaves intended for the American market.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the crop meant a heavy sacrifice for the planters, and General Sherman in his proclamation, inviting the dispersed inhabitants to return to their plantations as loyal United

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<sup>3</sup> *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 Feb., 1862.

<sup>4</sup> The highest estimate was 25 to 30,000. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd ses., pt. I, 960.

<sup>5</sup> *Boston Journal*, 14 Nov., 1861.



States citizens, pointed out the destruction of the cotton and the deterioration of their property. Scarcely a planter took advantage of the invitation; some to prevent the cotton from falling into the hands of the Federals ordered it burned. If the valuable<sup>6</sup> cotton crop was to be saved, the government at Washington must save it. Late in November, therefore, the Adjutant General ordered the seizure of all cotton and any other property that could be used to the prejudice of the Union forces.<sup>7</sup> Paid negro labor was to pick, collect, and pack the cotton preparatory to its shipment in transports to the Quartermaster in New York where it was sold on the public account. In the execution of this order General Sherman appointed Wm. H. Nobles agent of the United States to collect and store cotton found in the deserted section of South Carolina, who received six per cent on the market value of the cotton stored. Nobles, and his assistant, James Adrian Suydam, had by Christmas sent away cotton to the value of \$30,000; the work was well organized and so perfectly in operation that Brigadier-General Rufus Saxton said, upon the arrival of Edward L. Pierce, the agent of the Treasury Department, "he will have little to do but take the credit of collecting a couple of million dollars' worth of cotton."<sup>8</sup> Of the cotton already picked and stored before the arrival of Du Pont's fleet, Pierce thought there were 2,500,000 pounds, an estimate which indicates that the crop was unusually large.<sup>9</sup>

In the treatment of the phenomenal situation of Port Royal three agencies co-operated, the War Department, the Treasury Department, and the public. It was the occasion too, of a Congressional measure providing for the occupation and cultivation of cotton and other lands in the possession of the United States lying along the southern coast. This measure which passed the Senate but failed of passage in the House directed the President to appoint for one year a Board of three persons to take charge of all property committed to it by the military authorities. This Board was to have power to work the plantations under the

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<sup>6</sup> Petitioners to the Senate estimated that unless measures were taken, \$1,000,000 would be lost in S. Car. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd ses., pt. II, 1113.

<sup>7</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, vol. VI, 192.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 208.

<sup>9</sup> Pierce to Chase, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 Feb., 1862.

direction of superintendents or lease them to responsible parties; to supply the needs of indigent persons and put the able bodied to work for wages, and establish hospitals for general use.

While this proposed measure was before the Senate, General Sherman gave orders covering the pressing necessities of "the totally uneducated, ignorant and improvident blacks." He divided the region into districts over which was a supervisor with instructions "to superintend the management of the plantations; to enroll and organize the willing blacks into working parties; to see that they are well fed, clad, and paid a proper remuneration for their labor; to perform all other administrative acts . . . required by the government."<sup>10</sup> This plan was not to interfere with existing orders respecting the employment of contrabands and the collection of cotton. The situation was described by Sherman, in closing his order, as follows: "All the blacks are now in great need of suitable clothing, if not other necessities of life, which necessity will probably continue and even increase while the above system gets into working order, and the benevolent and philanthropic of the land are most earnestly appealed to for assistance in relieving their immediate wants. Never was there a nobler or more fitting opportunity for the operation of that considerate and practical benevolence for which the northern people have been ever distinguished."

The Treasury Department sent to Port Royal as its special agent Edward L. Pierce of Milton, Massachusetts, a friend of Chase and a New England abolitionist. He was to aid in the supervision of plantations and laborers, and was instructed "to prevent the deterioration of estates, secure their best possible cultivation under the circumstances and promote the welfare of the laborers."<sup>11</sup> The Secretary of the Department, Salmon P. Chase, based his authority for this on the act of Congress of July 13, 1861, by which the President was authorized to permit commercial intercourse with any part of the country declared to be in a state of insurrection, and under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury who was authorized to appoint officers needed to carry into effect such permits, rules, and regulations. Secretary Chase considered it essential to this commercial intercourse that the abandoned estates

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<sup>10</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. I, vol. VI, 222, 223.

<sup>11</sup> *Official Records*, Ser. III, vol. II, 54, 55.



be cultivated and their laborers employed. He wrote Mr. Pierce: "the persons who have been abandoned by their masters, and who are received into the services of the country can never, without great inhumanity on the part of the government be reduced again to slavery. You will, therefore, in what you do, have reference to fitting them for self-support by their own industry hereafter."<sup>12</sup>

The publication of Sherman's order, the debate in the Senate, and the press notices of the situation at Port Royal aroused public feeling, which took expression in the organization of societies to aid in the work already begun by the government, and to extend it in an educational way. In this latter undertaking Secretary Chase was deeply interested and gave his official sanction to the work of the societies. Mr. Pierce wrote that "Chase has done everything. If the enterprise fails not upon him rests the responsibility . . . wish he could be everywhere."<sup>13</sup> The Educational Commission of Boston, afterward the New England Freedmen Aid Society, was organized February 7, 1862, with Governor John A. Andrew, president. Its purpose was to send individuals to oversee the black laborers, "seeking to lead them to form habits of cheerful, voluntary labor in place of the constrained toil of slavery;"<sup>14</sup> to interest them in lessons of honesty and frugality; teach them to read and write; in short, "the industrial, social, intellectual, moral, religious improvement of persons released from slavery in the course of the war for the Union."<sup>15</sup> Similar organizations were formed, some simultaneously with the Educational Commissions, others soon after. New York called its organization the National Freedman's Relief Association; Philadelphia had the Port Royal Relief Commission; and, there were organizations formed in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis subsequently.

These societies in a very short time jointly sent \$10,000 in cash for the relief of the needy at Port Royal, \$10,000 in clothing, bacon, fish, molasses, salt, etc., besides instructors to teach them in the rudiments of learning. Eight schools were in operation by May<sup>16</sup> 8, and religious services were held every Sunday. This

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<sup>12</sup> *Hart's Chase*, 259.

<sup>13</sup> Pierce to Miss Walker, 26 Feb., 1862, in the Society's collections.

<sup>14</sup> Pamphlet of the Educational Commission, Boston, 1862.

<sup>15</sup> From the constitution of the Educational Commission.

<sup>16</sup> *The New York Daily Tribune*, 17 June, 1862.

was quite a supplement to the aid of the government, which contributed mules, \$20,000 in seeds and implements, and wages at the rate of one dollar per acre of cotton planted. Other societies were organized but denominational in character. The Friends took the lead, then the United Presbyterians and others. Today the American Missionary Association (organized in 1865 by the Congregational churches), and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (formed in 1866) exist,<sup>17</sup> and exercise a potent influence in the industrial education and religious uplift of the American negro.

I wish to acknowledge the efficient assistance of Miss Hamlin, the Society's Librarian, in the preparation of this material for publication.

H. N. S.

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<sup>17</sup> Rept. of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, Cincinnati, 1868, 5-7.



## JOURNAL OF MISS SUSAN WALKER

March 3d to June 6th, 1862

March 3d 1862 at 11 o'clock A. M. left Canal St. wharf in N[ew] Y[ork] in Steamship Atlantic—Capt[ain] Eldridge—for Port Royal.

The previous day—Sunday—it was necessary to see the Collector, Mr. Barney,<sup>18</sup> and secure a *pass*. He appointed 7 o'clock in the evening to receive all who were approved by U[nited] S[tates] Government and Boston and New York associations as suitable persons to go to Port Royal to look after the freed men and women there.

We were 52<sup>19</sup> in all—only 12 ladies under charge of Rev. Mansfield French.<sup>20</sup> The others were gentlemen selected by E. L. Pierce<sup>21</sup> who also accompanied us as special Gov[ernment] Agent.

We all took a solemn oath of allegiance to U. S. Government and then received each a *pass*. This has been no easy matter to accomplish. My whole Sunday had to be given to it. Secretary [Salmon P.] Chase had given me a pass, but as he had entrusted the whole matter to Mr. Barney it was necessary for the latter to give a pass also.

Government furnished us passage and subsistence from the time of leaving N[ew] Y[ork] to return there.

The Atlantic is never used only as a Gov[ernment] Transport and is without the usual conveniences to be found on a passenger steamer. The passage was rough and stormy and few escaped sea sickness. All who were able, of course, wished to be on deck but had no awning or seats. We sat upon the floor and the gentlemen kindly lent us rubber blankets to keep off the

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<sup>18</sup> Hiram Barney, Collector of the port of New York.

<sup>19</sup> In Miss Walker's list there are 53 names.

<sup>20</sup> Rev. French was the leading spirit in the formation of the N. Y. Association, a member of its Foreign Committee, and head of its Port Royal delegation.

<sup>21</sup> Edward L. Pierce served three months at Fortress Monroe, where in 1861 he was placed in charge of the contrabands. He was a native of Milton, Mass. *Warden's Chase*, 396n.

rain. There was general harmony of spirit, though sometimes a nice ear might have detected a discordant strain in the sacred songs and hymns that were continually sung by our friends.

This psalm-singing reminded me of the old Scotch Covenanters of other days, or the pilgrim bands I so often met in the old world as they were "marching on" to the music of sacred songs I could hear long before the singers came in sight, winding their onward way up to some holy shrine upon the mountain top.

We too were pilgrims, bound to a different *form* only of worship. "Work is worship" and I trust one spirit animates our band—one desire to lift up into the glorious light of freedom the oppressed and benighted ones, thrown by this wicked rebellion, so entirely upon their own feeble resources and our humanity. We all feel a deep responsibility and I hope for strength to meet it at any sacrifice.

March 9th, Sunday morning, have arrived at Beauford.<sup>22</sup> We left Hilton Head<sup>23</sup> yesterday at 3 P. M. in the Cosmopolitan, a small transport drawing less water than the Atlantic and able to navigate Broad and Beauford rivers. In half an hour we were aground and I thought of the hours I have passed on sand-bars in the Ohio. We undertook to draw a schooner up with us and both stuck in the sand till 10 o'clock, when we escaped and gladly left the schooner to await the tide. Some gentlemen went on shore in a small boat and gathered the peach and orange flowers, honeysuckle and branches of the Palmetto, which they brought us as first offerings from secessia. Mr. Hooper<sup>24</sup> brought some of the "sacred soil" which he sent home in a letter.

Our arrival in Beauford was greeted by no joyous welcome, no preparations awaited us. The houses, promised to Mr. French,<sup>25</sup> had been appropriated. The "elegant furniture" promised us could not be found. It seemed a general *appropriation act* had passed since Mr. French left Beauford and *nothing* was ready for us.

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<sup>22</sup> Beauford, on Port Royal sound, S. Car. Miss Walker spells it Beauford invariably.

<sup>23</sup> There is a map of Port Royal harbor and adjacent islands in Elizabeth Ware Pearson, "Letters from Port Royal."

<sup>24</sup> Edwards W. Hooper of the Educational Commission, and subsequently Treasurer of Harvard College.

<sup>25</sup> French had previously spent some weeks at Beaufort.



Rev. Mr. Peck<sup>26</sup> came on board for his daughter<sup>27</sup> and kindly invited me and my charge, Miss Winsor,<sup>28</sup> to his house. Mrs. Johnson<sup>29</sup> and sister went with Mrs. Stevens to the General's<sup>30</sup> quarters—General Stevens had command of Beauford. Mr. & Mrs. French came also to Mr. Peck's. The other ladies went to an unoccupied house near the Arsenal where all our luggage was taken. Not an article of furniture was in the house. It was found that the Cosmopolitan must return to Hilton Head immediately and our luggage must be taken out. Who should do this? Mr. Pierce and a set of noble young men—several of them Harvard graduates, men of taste and culture—students with good common sense and earnestness of purpose that promises success, went to work, coats off; they soon had every thing out of the boat, much to the astonishment of the idle lookers on, white and black. The former not in sympathy with us.

We were in all, at Dr. Peck's, ten. We had plates enough, but knives, forks and spoons would not go round, so we divided—one had knife, another fork. I had only a spoon, but this did very well for our simple repast consisting of tea, fish, and bread and butter. Table cloth and napkins *may* come in the future.

"Cleanliness is next to godliness" so said the good Wesley. I had not taken off my dress or slept the previous night and instead of going to church I asked for a bath. Judy, a nice colored woman, did her best to procure this for me, and in *due time* appeared with basin and ewer filled with water. Before I had commenced my ablutions she came and asked the loan of it "just a minute" for a gentleman—of course she took it, but soon returned and found me pinning a spare towel to one window and my dressing gown to another for screens. With some difficulty I procured a tumbler. Having no washstand or table, I used the deep window seat and *luxuriated* as one

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<sup>26</sup> Rev. Solomon Peck of Roxbury, Mass. He established a school for the blacks and was superintendent of sixty-five plantations. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 Feb., 1862.

<sup>27</sup> Miss Lizzie Peck. See p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> Miss Ellen H. Winsor of the Educational Commission. After Miss Walker left Beauford she kept her informed of the progress of the work. Winsor to Walker, 26 June, 1862, in the Society's collections.

<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Walter R. Johnson and Miss Mary A. Donaldson, friends of Miss Walker.

<sup>30</sup> Brigadier-General Isaac I. Stevens, commanding the Second Division.

only can under similar circumstances. The room I shared with Miss Peck and Miss Winsor. It contained *one* bedstead on which was a very thin mattress of straw, which we three occupied (with a variety of creatures or insects), a bureau but no chairs.

A snow-storm greeted our arrival and the cherry trees near my window droop their frost-touched flower clusters. The more hardy orange trees now in flower are shining white with bud and blossom and diffusing sweet odors all around. Gardens, wholly neglected, are rich in flowers. Bouquets are continually brought to us by our friends. Today Mr. Zachos<sup>31</sup> brought me one in which I counted twenty varieties. In the centre sat a gay-plumaged bird—a beautiful creature found dead among the bright flowers. What exquisite roses and rich yellow jassamines, climbing together over wall and trellis! Hedges of Oleander and Japonica intersperced with sweet Honeysuckle! Peach trees in full bloom blush among myrtle and magnolia. Our mantel is filled with flowers set in every variety of vase from the delicate parian to a black bottle with neck broken off to give room for flowers. My last bouquet is in a tin cup.

Inexpressibly sad is the sight of Beauford. I have visited many deserted *palaces* and found them much defaced—windows broken and doors off, locks removed and furniture destroyed or removed. Desolation, fit follower of war, reigns all around. Why could not these people stay and enjoy their magnificent homes and put off the only foe they nursed in these luxurious homes of theirs? The viper turned and stung the bosom that warmed and nourished it—now *where* is this people!

Before the town was taken by our brave troops the inhabitants held a meeting in their largest church and every man had to promise to fly rather than espouse the side of the Union. They shot some of the slaves who refused to go with them.

Tuesday 11th Went with Mr. French escorted by the Provost Marshal<sup>32</sup> in search of a house large enough to accommodate 12 ladies. Twelve women together! This is fearful. We found a splendid house near the water and therefore pronounced healthful. It must be thoroughly cleaned for the “chivalry” look not to *corners* and *cupboards*. They leave this to the poor despised

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<sup>31</sup> Formerly Prof. John C. Zachos of Cincinnati. He was a friend of Chase; chief teacher and superintendent of the Boston Commission. James T. Fisher to Miss Walker, 13 Mar., 1862, in the Society's collections.

<sup>32</sup> Lieut. Belcher.



"mudsie" of the north. Such a kitchen as supplied their luxurious tables would no where else be suffered. Bah! *What* filth—years only could have *so* *matured* it.

Here we are at last in possession of Hamilton's superb mansion. Wednesday, 12 March. Slept last night at good Dr. Peck's but tonight must occupy the pleasant room assigned me in our new home. Unfurnished, of course, for every house has been stripped of furniture. I have a frame of rough boards to support my narrow straw-stuffed mattress. My table is a packing box, my candle-stick a potato, and a small wooden bench my only seat. I have a single piece of furniture—a *marble-top mahogany wash-stand*, which kind provost Belcher has brought, he says, "expressly for you." I expect to have wash-basin and pitcher *some time*. Having neither pillow case nor sheet, I split open a white peticoat and slipped myself between. Friends have sometimes called me *fastidious*, am I so?

Thursday 13th March. My window east opens upon a little porch with mosaic floor. From this what a glorious sunrise over the river. Rosy Aurora tints sky and water. A magnificently spreading Live Oak fringed with long pendants of grey moss stands between me and the river promising charming shade when summer heat demands out-door breezes. My window north reveals orange trees and negro cabins and a pretty white hen-house made of lattice work and looking like a fanciful summer house. Window south opens upon a broad verandah exposed on two sides to the sea or river rather, but it is an arm of the sea and salt. A dressing room belongs to this room but is not spared for me. I have a fire-place and fire is required night and morning.

Friday 14th. Not yet established. 12 women are too many for one house. Yesterday I was all day assorting old clothes sent from New York for the negroes. Such old shoes and men's clothing filled with dust and dirt! Women's soiled gowns, etc. and *rags* I would not give to a street beggar, have been sent at Government expense, to be *handled* and assorted by ladies! Some new but more old. Could not the large charity of New York furnish new materials? Old is hardly worth offering. Better to give the old at home to such as can mend—comparatively few of the freed-women here can sew. We hope to teach many to do it, but they need the clothing *now*. [An anno-

tation here states "Further acquaintance corrects the statement, nearly all can."]

Our rations consist of bread, beans, tea or coffee, rice, sugar, molasses and salt meat, to which we add some condiments and luxuries brought by Mr. French in small supplies that admonish economy in their use. We have knives and forks, but tea-spoons will not go round. If I am so fortunate as to have a spoon I give my coffee a stir and pass spoon to next neighbor, who repeats so that one spoon serves three persons. Clouds begin to threaten a storm. It is quite evident that perfect harmony will not reign. Mr. French has, by unanimous vote taken the head of our establishment. He is a Methodist Episcopal minister, but ill health required him to abandon the pulpit some three years since, and he left Xenia, Ohio, for New York, where he and his wife conduct a monthly entitled "The Beauty of Holiness." Mr. French is truly religious. He has a kind gentle nature and is filled with earnest desire to do good. He is invariably kind, with heart and spirit all right. His business capacity and executive talent are small compared with his large benevolence and deep religious sentiment. I fear the want of business talent may lead to some difficulties in the organization he purposes—nous verrons. . . .

Saturday March 15th. I have been publicly rebuked for not kneeling during prayer. Why? I went to a "shout." This is a religious rite of the blacks in this region. It consists of a peculiar dance to the singing of some hymn or song extempore. At the commencement a circle dance—men, women, and children, around two persons who sing. This dance is an indescribable movement of the feet *very heavy* and a correspondent movement of the body. At the end of the tune or song the central group is increased and another dance commenced—each dance increasing the central group. The *Shout*<sup>83</sup> continues sometimes all night, increasing gradually in vigor and vehemence and the atmosphere ditto. I remained far beyond my wish, waiting for the carriage. When it came none of our party were ready to leave and I returned alone. The driver had no pass or counter-sign. I knew the counter-sign but had no right to use it, neither had the driver. We were challenged three times but, reluctantly, allowed to pass and I reached home rather weary and almost

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<sup>83</sup> For another description of the shout see *Nation*, 30 May, 1862.



sick—was going directly to my room but Mr. French said he would first have service. I had just time to ask for some sheets that he had promised to provide for me in New York and to learn that they had just, that evening, been sent to Mrs. General Stevens. This was too much for human nature for I had had no sheets for 4 nights. I did not *feel* devotional and did not kneel or make pretence but sat quietly as I often do when I feel most devotional. Prayer and singing over, I said good night and was at the door when Mrs. F. . . . . in loud tone began "Miss Walker, you have hurt my feelings very much by not kneeling at prayer. I hope that in future you will *always* do it, and set such an example to the colored people." I simply replied *very sweetly* "Good night, Mrs. French." Several of our Boston young men stood at the door as I came out, having heard all. They greeted me most cordially as I passed out. Next day I learned that they went home to their house near by and held an indignation meeting. . . .

Sunday March 16th. Went to the Baptist church. Mr. French preached to the 9th Michigan Reg[iment], General Stevens and family present. A good talk—could hardly be called a sermon but excellent of its kind. Subject: Daniel and his trials, his powers of resistance and godly life—application.

General Stevens invited Mrs. J. [Mrs. Walter R. Johnson] and me to lunch and visit hospitals. Accepted of course. Dr. Kemble,<sup>84</sup> Penn. Brigade Surgeon, went with us—visited Round Head and other hospitals. Women are sadly needed in these hospitals. About 100 sick and tended by men—look forlorn—need a woman's face and voice to cheer and woman's hand to smooth their pillow. . . .

No musquito nets. Dr. K[emble] says he made requisition upon Dr. . . . at Hilton Head for nets but was refused because Dr. wished a *General* Hospital there; has 1200 nets and would send none. Dr. K[emble] wishes he had some female nurses, says he would take them in special charge and give them a house, etc. Dined at 6 o'clock at General Stevens, talked about Washington Military, Anderson, etc. Johnson best officer in the rebel army. McC. [?] afraid of him. Returned home and retired. Awakened from deep sleep by Mrs. Harlan<sup>85</sup> who came

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<sup>84</sup> George S. Kemble.

<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Senator Harlan of Iowa. *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 12 Mar., 1862.

to say Atlantic would sail from Hilton Head tonight. Had I anything for Sec[retary] Chase whom she should see. Had nothing, had written to his daughters all I had to say. . . .

Monday 17th March. Mr. French has asked me to be his secretary but I think he wishes a grand *Report* and will publish it. I do not wished to be mixed up with N[ew] Y[ork] association for there is no congeniality of taste and sentiment.<sup>36</sup> I hope we all came with one purpose.

I have been appointed *superintendent of washing*. This I have accepted and intend to do my best to give satisfaction, if I remain here. I have just received a note from Mr. Pierce asking if Mrs. J., M., N.,<sup>37</sup> and I will go to the Pope plantation<sup>38</sup> and aid him and Mr. Hooper in plantation work. Our hearts leap with the idea, but we will consult Mr. F[rench]. He is so kindly disposed we do not wish to hurt his feelings, if he should object to our leaving. Dr. Peck urged my remaining with him and his daughter but Mr. French objected so strongly, I thought it best to try what could be done with his *tribe of women*, much doubting my ability to remain long. Dr. Peck has sent several times to ask my return. He also wants Miss Winsor as teacher in his colored school.

Tuesday 18 March. Last night it was decided that we should go to the plantation. We rejoice in this decision because we believe we can be far more useful there. Dr. Peck came this morning and again repeated his kind invitation to me and my charge, Nellie [Winsor]. He wants us both, he says, Nellie for school and me to go with him to visit the plantations on Port Royal Island, all of which are under his superintendence. They are 65 in number. Beauford is upon P[ort] R[oyal] Island.

Mr. Pierce, in his admirable Report,<sup>39</sup> has truly and beautifully described this apostle, whose saintly look is a benediction. His sweet daughter, Lizzie came to Beauford with us, to join her father and to minister to his comfort. She has a delicate look, I do not think she can be strong.

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<sup>36</sup> Edward S. Philbrick of the Boston Commission had a similar estimate of the N. Y. Association. Pearson, Port Royal Letters, 4, 5.

<sup>37</sup> Probably Mrs. Walter R. Johnson, Miss Mary A. Donaldson, and Miss Nellie Winsor.

<sup>38</sup> The name of one of the 195 plantations.

<sup>39</sup> Rept. to Chase, 3 Feb., 1862.



Mr. P[ierce] urges us to the plantation and so we go—four of us together. A “lighter” takes our luggage and a 6 oar boat, rowed by as many stalwart negroes, takes us and Mr. Hooper, who is our escort. Our rowers sing as they row, their own songs—some impromptu and all religious—about the Saviour and the kingdom. Their oars dip in the sparkling water, keeping time to the song. It is a clear bright day. The sun, warm, but a fine breeze, makes our row of half an hour in crossing Beauford river, most delightful. The boat cannot touch the shore because of shallow water and so a stout negro takes us one at a time in his arms and carries us from boat to shore.

Mr. Eustis<sup>40</sup> has invited us to dine with him and sent his carriage to the ferry for us. The carriage, dilapidated now, *was* Miss Mary Jenkins’ but confiscated and appropriated by Mr. Eustis. This is our way of securing comforts. A nice dinner, *roast beef* awaited us and a pleasant re-union with friends we had not seen since we parted on arrival at Hilton Head. After dinner the gentlemen preceded us to the Pope plantation to see if all was in readiness for us. They returned and escorted us to our future *home*, where tea awaited us under Mr. Hooper’s superintendence, also a crowd of blacks—men, women and children, came to welcome us—ragged and dirty they offered hands we could not refuse. The men scraped and bowed, the women curtsied. Little children scraped without bowing most laughably. I brought in a little fellow of 15 years and we were greatly amused at his scraping his foot with the slightest movement of head. We took our nice tea and corn bread without butter and retired early. I could not sleep because my new straw mattress was very hard and my bedstead, buggy.

Wednesday 19 March. Arose, not refreshed, for want of sleep; discarded bedstead and Mr. Ruggles made a rough board frame to support my mattress. Nellie and I occupy same room and have a small wash-room, which is a great luxury. I brought my marble top wash stand and my nice basin and pitcher and new water bucket—enough to make my comfort without anything else. After arranging my room I went with Mrs. J[ohnson] and Mr. Eustis to his overseer-house, now our store house, to

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<sup>40</sup> Frederic A. Eustis of Milton, Mass., a son-in-law of Dr. Channing. When his mother died he inherited a plantation near Port Royal, but owing to his anti-slavery views refused it. He had charge of this plantation. Miss Walker to ( ), 1 Apr., 1862, in the Society’s collection.

open boxes of clothing and select for plantations. Worked all day and returned for 6 P. M. dinner.

Thursday. At home all day putting house in order. Have but little furniture but expect to *pick up* gradually. Everything has been taken out of the houses. What the *military* left, the blacks have hidden away and will no doubt bring us enough to make us comfortable.

Friday. Again at store-house opening boxes and selecting clothes for plantations; all day working hard. Have filled 4 large boxes with a variety of clothes for men, women and children; wish we had more clothes for children.

Saturday. Visited cabins and preached industry and cleanliness. Mrs. J[ohnson] has done much to induce the last, already at her instance whitewashing and scrubbing have commenced and imitation is large in the negro. I am hopeful.

Sunday. Drove 4 miles to church. Avenue leading up to the church having natural hedge of Cherokee rose, climbing sometimes 30 or 40 feet on privet and pine tree. Church stands in a grove of live oak deeply fringed with grey moss. A burial place overhung by a wide spreading live oak, whose luxuriant branches with their pendants of moss, seemed like wings of guardian angels spread out to embrace the loved ones buried there, whose white marble monuments tell us they "lived to be loved and died to be lamented." One newly made grave marked by a notched board tells us its occupant is now equal with his white master before the throne of the "King of kings," though no marble monument marks his last resting place. The slave is free. Pax vobiscum.

I taught a class in our morning Sunday school and never have I seen greater earnestness to "learn to read." This is the universal cry. They oftener ask for books than for clothes. After school the church was filled with some 3 to 400 clean dressed, but odd looking people. Many wore table covers for shawls, some, showy gowns left by *Sesesh* ladies, and trousers, coats and vests made of carpeting taken from the floors. "Necessity is the mother of invention" as these neglected people daily prove to us. Mr. Hooper opened service by reading selections from Scripture. A colored brother then offered an earnest prayer. Mr. Hooper read a hymn and then lined it out and the congregation sung it. Mr. H. said he could not preach but would tell



a story. He did it well and all listened with deep interest to hear how the giant Offro<sup>41</sup> found Christ. The giant was a strong man but wished to find a stronger than himself and set out in search of the strongest and most powerful man in the world. The King would not do and Satan would not do; at last a holy hermit directed him to find Christ. Offro would not pray and could not fast but could work. For a year he served pious pilgrims by carrying them in his arms over a rapid river in their journey to the Holy Sepulchre. One stormy night a little child asked to be carried over. It was hard for Offro to leave his warm bed but he did it. The little child began to grow heavy and when they reached the shore a glory shone around him and lighted the darkness. A man was set down who said "you have at last by your fidelity and faith found Christ." Mr. Pierce made some excellent remarks touching every day duties. Another hymn was read by Mr. Hooper and sung by the congregation, after which in beautiful and solemn tone and manner Mr. Hooper pronounced the benediction.

After service Mr. Pierce, Nellie and I drove to Jenkins' plantation, about 8 miles from Pope's. The house stands near the river, is 5 miles by boat from Hilton Head. An extensive and beautiful flower garden lies between house and river. I gathered a rich and varied bouquet from the large beds of verbena and sweet violet. Retinospora from the large trees in the garden, Oleander buds from trees larger than the largest Quince tree, Coral honeysuckle and geranium and many other varieties.

Monday 24th March. At overseer or store house selecting clothing nearly all day.

Tuesday. Again at the Jenkins' plantation to look into cabins, talk with women and see what can be done to improve them. Katy has 7 ragged, dirty children, what shall be done? No husband and *nothing*. Some clothes are given for her children—one naked, and must have it at once. Is Katy lazy? Very likely. Does she tell the truth? Perhaps not. I must have faith and she must, at least, cover her children. She promises to make her cabin and herself clean and to wash her children before putting on the new clothes. Will she do it? I will see her again. Visited some twenty or more cabins and talked a great deal. Chaplin's plantation is adjoining. He was old and unmarried.

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<sup>41</sup> Usually called Saint Christopher.

They say he was a kind master. He told them to stay when the Yankees came. Many masters told their slaves the Yankees would take them and send them to Cuba and sell them away from their children, and that they must run when the Yankees came. One woman said they told her the Yankees had horns and she must run and hide in the woods before they came. She added, "I knowed massa meant to come and get me away an' I didn't go." I said, "I am a Yankee, why don't you run? don't you see my horns?" She seized my hands and kissed them saying "bless the Lord we glad you come."

I fear the cotton agent, Salisbury,<sup>42</sup> stationed here is not a good man. The negroes complain of him and they all look so neglected it is quite evident he has done no good upon the plantation. He drives the finest horses I have seen in Port Royal or St. Helena; gives good dinners; entertains largely; has appropriated all the furniture and nearly all the teams about the place and refuses to give anything to the Superintendents placed there by Mr. Pierce. Smith and Taylor are superintendents. Yesterday, Salisbury demanded 3 oxcarts and their oven and one mule and cart with ten men who had been set at work by Smith. What can be done with only hands and hoes upon such extent of cotton and corn fields?

Wednesday 26th March. At home all day writing. What joy! Letters from Secretary Chase, James Fisher,<sup>43</sup> Ellen Walker, Mrs. Eastman. Am I not happy. Mr. Channing too—joint letter to Mrs. J[ohnson], Mary and me. Three newspapers too! Spent all evening in letter writing. Learn that a steamer leaves tomorrow.

Thursday 27th March. Visited cabins and found four or five sick. Yesterday Katy gave birth to a child, the first free born child here and we mean to call the boy Edward L. Pierce.

Friday. Provost Marshal, Lieut. Belcher, came to lunch with us and look after the comfort of the ladies. Just as the Provost was leaving we were surprised by the appearance of a cavalcade at our door. Gen[eral] [Thomas W.] Sherman with his aids

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<sup>42</sup> The friction which subsequently developed between the government cotton agents and the representatives of the Associations was caused by the usurpation of authority by the latter. See p. 33.

<sup>43</sup> James T. Fisher of the Finance Committee of the Boston Commission. He was a cousin of Mrs. Edward S. Philbrick and a personal friend of Miss Walker. See Society Coll.



from Hilton Head and Gen[eral] Stevens and his aids from Beauford came to pay their respects to us. All offered to do anything in their power for us. Mr. Pierce had brought sardines and cheese, which, with our ration bread we set before our visitors. Mr. Pierce also offered wine but the presence of ladies perhaps prevented its acceptance. The incident was an agreeable one. These have been our only visitors except Mr. Eustis since we came to the plantation.

Saturday. This is Mr. Pierce's birthday, 33 he says. We ought to have a festival and christen ebony Edward, his namesake, but no clergyman is here. We must wait till Dr. Peck comes over. Spent the day at the storehouse assorting clothing; made up two large boxes for Phillips<sup>44</sup> and Philbrick.<sup>45</sup> Opened Concord box and found a valuable collection of clothing for children which we greatly need. Found Mr. Hooper and Mr. Philbrick on arriving home. The latter passed the night. He came in great trouble about the cotton agents Nobles and Salisbury, who so retard his operations and who are doing so much to injure the laborers at Coffin's Point, where he and Gannett<sup>46</sup> are stationed. His Report shows the agents there to be very bad men. What can be done?

Sunday 30 March. Note from Mr. P[ierce] asking if I will write to Secretary Chase about them. I listen, after going to parlor, to his letter to Sec[retary]. Col[onel] Reynolds<sup>47</sup> and Philbrick's written reports are to be forwarded to Washington. Determine to add my mite however small and beseech the Secretary to heed Mr. Pierce's earnest appeal. Will not his name as mover [?] and supporter of this experiment to "improve the negroes" carry his name wherever tongue can pronounce it? Will not the recording angel write [it] in with pen of light in the Great Book? He will come now to our aid and remove these bad men who are doing so much to corrupt the negroes he wishes to improve. His past life-work is guarantee of present help. I feel that he will now do what he can. Shall not go to

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<sup>44</sup> Rev. Samuel D. Phillips of the Educational Commission.

<sup>45</sup> See Pearson's "Letters from Port Royal" for communication of Edward S. Philbrick of the Boston Commission.

<sup>46</sup> Wm. C. Gannet of the Boston Commission.

<sup>47</sup> Lieut. Col. Wm. H. Reynolds, cotton collector. Pierce was not to interfere with his work, but to supplement it. Pierce to Chase in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 Feb., 1862.

church today. Thermometer is at 72 and sun bright—I will stay indoors. Last night I came home so tired with assorting clothing, I went to my room directly from our 7 o'clock dinner and did not leave it again till this morning. A good sleep and bath refreshed me and I feel quite bright.

Monday 31st March. Atlantic has arrived. Will there be letters for me. We have a dinner party today. General Stevens, wife, son and daughter, Mr. Eustis and son, and Mr. Hooper, all invited by Mr. Pierce. What field for invention! We have an extension table but, alas, our table cloth will not extend and it is our only one. I have a bright thought. I have just finished a new sheet; this shall be washed and starched, nicely ironed—will it not seem *invisible* damask? And with napkins made from a scrap of an old table cloth found at our washerwoman's, and nicely done up, our table shines. I brought two silver forks and Mrs. Hooper has one; others have plated forks three, so we can make up a half dozen silver and plated, which we give our guests. Mr. Hooper we don't mind because he belongs to our family. He is general express-man though and for convenience is mostly with Mr. Eustis on Ladies Island nearer the ferry. Mr. Eustis brings his plates, spoons, etc. and his excellent waiter, Harry. A *moutton* has been slain, this furnishes our meat to which however we may add *ration* ham. M[ary] accomplishes an apple dumplin and I succeed under some difficulties in getting it boiled. Mr. Eustis surprises us by bringing ripe strawberries, a few dried fruits procured by private enterprise in Beauford or sent by Boston friends, furnish a nice dessert, which we ornament with flowers. Green orange leaves with bud and flower contrast prettily with the ripe golden fruit; green fig leaves beautify our dish of dried figs and a wreath of Cherokee roses and a vase of natural flowers form a pretty centre piece for our table. Robert,<sup>48</sup> an old herdsman, makes delicious butter always and today gives his best—how sweet and fresh. Coffee with *cream* follows last. Spoons are scarce—I have four silver teaspoons, Mrs. Hooper one, and we raise two plated ones, enough for guests and we decline coffee at some personal sacrifice for we all like the beverage. I must not omit the rich salad which, of course, American

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<sup>48</sup> Mr. Philbrick wrote of Robert in 1865 that after posing as an object of charity he and his friend negotiated for a \$350 horse. "Letters from Port Royal," 202.



fashion followed the meats. We thank Mr. Ruggles<sup>49</sup> for the nice lettuce he brought us and wish our table *cloth* would have given him a "cover." Fortunately it just reached for 12 and 13 *fatal number*, was saved! Our dinner was pronounced a grand success. General Stevens was too busy with trying the pontoon bridge at Beauford to come and sent his two aids, Captain Stevens<sup>50</sup> (his son) and Lieutenant Lyons<sup>51</sup> to escort the ladies. We were sorry not to see him and also General Sherman who was invited, but we had a merry dinner—though rebel pickets are within 10 miles of us.

April 1st Tuesday. My week at housekeeping, how I dread it! Susannah is no cook, has never been taught and her kitchen is away across the yard. I cannot go to her through the burning sun and over the deep sand. If I could I fear I shouldn't, for it is too small and has too many in it—no room for me and to tell truth I don't like kitchens, especially *colored* ones where the dinner I am to eat has to be cooked. Our two waiters, Jane and Lucy are girls of 14 whom we have taken to instruct generally. Ellic, field hand, *assists* sometimes, but oftener hinders. I must call Jane to tell Lucy to find Ellic and send him to cut some wood and bring it in quickly to make a fire; we are all very cold at evening even though thermometer may have stood at 80° at midday. It is a peculiarity of this region, a part of its former institutions, nothing can ever be provided before it is absolutely needed in order that patience may have its perfect work perhaps. In the present case we have no lock or latch or fastening of any kind to any door, and no place but the chimney corner for our wood and therefore cannot keep a very large supply on hand. We have few cooking utensils and no conveniences of any description. The "barbarism of Slavery everywhere," trumpet tongued, proclaims against every form of progress, and hugs the chains that limit it. It is only necessary to survey a plantation that has for generations been cultivated for the single purpose of producing the largest quantity of cotton, cultivated with *one idea*, to read the small history of its master. Pope's is perhaps the average plantation, 87 negroes and good cotton grounds yielding 139 acres per annum. The house not old nor yet very new,

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<sup>49</sup> T. Edwin Ruggles of the Boston Commission.

<sup>50</sup> Captain Hazard Stevens.

<sup>51</sup> Benjamin R. Lyons.

contains no approach or reference to convenience. The grounds are equally innocent of any indication of taste. The whole plantation nowhere suggests an idea of beauty derived from any sort of culture. Nature, as if to rebuke man, has planted a white Cherokee rose hedge in front of the barn and corn yard but permits it not to approach near the house. If the barn had not been located so as to hide the graceful curve in the creek, quite a picturesque view might have opened from eastward. There is a vegetable garden on one side through which, in straight lines Orange trees have been planted, interspersed with mustard and cabbage stalks, but not a single garden flower blooms upon the plantation. Flora has nowhere on these Islands lavished her gifts—Nature has left this land to its idol—Art has transplanted from other regions a choice variety of garden flowers to some of the flower gardens but I have seen few wild flowers growing on any of these Islands.

Wednesday 2d April. Atlantic returns today and my letters must go to J. T. F.,<sup>52</sup> Cousin Cynthia and Mr. Winn. A quantity of clothing has been brought over from the store house and all the time I can spare from housekeeping must be given to the buyers who come for clothing. I shall have little time for letter writing to day.

Thursday. Mr. Zachos came up in his boat from Hilton Head, very glad to see him; went with him by boat to the store house and filled two bags with clothing for his five plantations, not much, to be sure, but all we can spare. He will send his boat any day we will visit him at Paris Island—should like to go for this place is so uninviting. I am tired of it.

Friday. Visited cabins and talked with women, found several sick and complaining of aches and pains; do not wonder they feel sick in such atmosphere. Why will not they keep cleaner? Have better ventilation! I always prescribe open door and bath—no medicine is needed if they would but live decently. House-keeping is a bore and storekeeping ditto. Very tired I retire early.

Saturday 5th April. Mr. Pierce has invited some gentlemen to dine and we must send table-cloth and napkins to be *done up* before dinner. He has seven nice fish—sheep's-head fish—this must furnish our repast. I will send for Becky to scrub the dining

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<sup>52</sup> James T. Fisher. See n. 45.



room floor and set Lucy and Jane to assort thread and needles for our negroes. I am all alone. Mrs. Johnson and sister have gone to Wasso and Nellie is sick. Sat[urday] is a day of leisure and men and women come by twenties and thirties to buy clothing. Some bring money and some want credit. I note each sale. Men buy gowns and chemises for their wives when they can buy nothing for themselves. They want very long dresses and ask often for white skirts. We had some half dozen which went off at once and many disappointments followed because we had no more. I wish our friends would send a quantity of the corded muslin that Chandler sells very cheap for skirts. The women here will gladly make them for themselves. I have taken today \$20 in money and *credited* a good deal to those who had no money yet wanted a smart gown and new chemise for Sunday. I wish we had as many more boxes as we have already received. We need a great deal yet to supply all who need. They come from long distances and it is hard to turn them away for want of such articles as they greatly need.

Sunday 6th April. Yesterday was a hard day for me—the hardest I have seen since I came to Port Royal, and I retired thoroughly disgusted and discouraged. If I had only to consider my own wants I should not be troubled for I would confine myself to Government rations and be thankful and cheerful, but three other ladies and one or two gentlemen are to be made comfortable through my efforts to provide. Mr. P[ierce] is extremely kind and brings many luxuries to be prepared and he likes a good table. Who does not? I like it too, but do not like to *do it* myself. If we only had a good waiter he might relieve the housekeeper of much disagreeable drudgery and save her more valuable time for more important service—for teaching and *preaching*, both of which are required every day. These poor, neglected ones need often to be reminded of the oft repeated necessities of cleanliness and industry. They come to me in rags and dirt to ask for a Sunday gown. They astonish me by the good taste with which they select. The orange and blue white striped skirts and sacks are the least salable of all dresses. The yellow and brown kerchief-turbans the least desired though all the head-kerchiefs are *gifts* to them, as requested by Mrs. Cabot.<sup>53</sup> Exceptions, of course, to all rules, as for

<sup>53</sup> Mrs. Samuel Cabot of Boston, a member of the Committee on Clothing for the Educational Commission.

instance at church today I noted black Moll with her cheery face and ivory teeth. Moll wore a gown of red and green patch—deep red roses blushed and glowed full size, upon a field of green; flounce a half yard deep tucked in the middle; over her shoulders she wore a blue gauze veil and around her neck a white kerchief fastened with white gauze ribbon and brooch of red glass. Her apron was a black crape veil with deep hem, probably a widow's deep mourning weed. A high turban of brilliant colors set upon her head like the Normandy cap. Black net mits covered her blacker hands, and an embossed table cover, black and scarlet, served for shawl. The conscious beauty, for she felt that she was handsome, smiled as I caught her eye and asked her name.

Judy is in my Sunday-school class; does not remember the letter U. Why not? She replies "Misses, we don't study dat." What do you study? "We study de lord." Whereupon I preached to her from her own text. How "study de lord" better than by improving the opportunity he has given by sending teachers to teach the way to read his holy Bible? Mr. Thorpe<sup>54</sup> talked well to the people, told them their duties, urged industry and patience, pointed out the greater sufferings of our soldiers and their families. A colored leader offered an earnest prayer. He prayed that "we may feel d influence dy holy spirit, God bless de Union people whereber dey may be trabbling on de land, on de water, en deir distant families whersoever dey may be."

Monday 7. Last day of my housekeeping. How I rejoice! I am ready to do harder work of different kind, but cannot do this.

Tuesday 8 April. Mr. Pierce went to Hilton Head and returned with a large package of letters and papers for me. I feel quite bright and strong now. Last few days have been decidedly homesick.

Wednesday 9th April. Drove to Fuller's<sup>55</sup> plantation; saw Superintendent Ruggles; went to the negro quarters and talked with the women. They need help. It is so near we ought to go often.

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<sup>54</sup> David F. Thorpe from Boston. See p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> When the exodus to the mainland occurred, Fuller succeeded in keeping control of his negroes, but later, when offered their freedom, they accepted. Pearson, Letters from Port Royal, 314, 315.



Thursday. Drove with Mr. Pierce and Mary to the far end of Ladies Island—Brickyard Point where Federal troops are stationed. This is opposite the Rebel pickets on the Main[land] and shots are often exchanged. Captain Dimmock<sup>56</sup> commands here. Had a charming drive through the woods and cotton fields. Gathered wild flowers, Azalia pink and white, with all the New England fragrance. I greeted it as an old friend. Ferns are very coarse—saw no fine ones or would have gathered some. Stopped at Chaplin's plantation where the only white man left on St. Helena still lives very secluded, not liking to see any one but his own servants who still attend him. His family are all sesesh. He says nothing and is called crazy—did not see him. Found the women ragged and dirty—no whitewash here; promised to use it before I came again—poor souls. They have little encouragement to do anything. All work and *no pay yet* and so "confused" as they express it, about themselves. Do not know whose they are, whether they belong to themselves or somebody else.

Friday 11th April. Heavy firing all morning yesterday and commenced again at 10 last evening, still continued till about 2 P. M., probably cannonading Fort Pulaski<sup>57</sup> 30 miles distant—so heavy as to shake our house. If sesesh gain *we* will hang from the highest tree. I look at these tall pines in the grove near my window and wonder which branch will hold me. I fear not for I feel that I am *sent* here for good. I came not myself alone.

Saturday. Yesterday at 2 P. M. Pulaski raised the white flag just in time to save the powder magazine and many lives. Only one of our men lost. Thank God! for another bloodless victory!

Sunday 13th April. Sumpter anniversary. Went to church and taught Sunday-school. "Atmospheric pressure" too severe, had great difficulty in bearing it to the end of service. Thorpe made an eloquent appeal to the people. May it touch their hearts and consciences and encourage them to "labor and to wait." His people are troublesome; many are discontented and our young superintendents are tried in many ways still they persevere. We came out as strangers, entirely ignorant of the country and the people. Our laborers had always been driven with uplifted whip. We came to them after three months of desolation and war had

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<sup>56</sup> Captain Gordon Z. Dimock, 50th Pa. Inf.

<sup>57</sup> On Cockspur Island, Georgia.

demoralized them. The masters abandoned them, leaving the cotton half picked and grain, potatoes, ungathered. Each superintendent has charge of from one to 10 plantations; all the winter and spring work had been neglected; no preparation for planting cotton; no fencing; no mules good for anything; plows were broken and hoes lost; harnesses were worn out and carts nowhere to be found. Government had not yet paid for picking last year's crop and laborers had no faith in its promises and worked accordingly—lazily and complainingly. Soldiers and others equally unwise had told them they were "freemen and need not work." The new condition in which they found themselves had produced among them such "confusion," as they rightly described themselves, that they hardly knew what to do or to believe, and yet with all this to contend with we have succeeded in planting more corn and potatoes enough to feed the 10,000 blacks and a fair crop of cotton besides. Confusion has become order and confidence reigns generally. With a few exceptions, the laborers have gone about their work as in the master's time. All understand the planting better than we can teach them, but they need encouragement. They have not yet become self-reliant. Many are well-disposed and work willingly when made to understand that the corn, which they so willingly plant, is to furnish them food, but the cotton must also be planted for Government and for this planting, wages will be paid them and with their wages they must buy clothes. Sweetening and tobacco or have none. It has been hard to teach this but the lesson oft repeated, is beginning to take effect. The soil had not much depth but continual replanting of the good seed, will, I feel confident, ultimately repay and richly too, the patient laborer.

Some are lazy and others are grasping. Are whites less so? I think the latter trait justifies faith in their ability to take care of themselves, now that they are relieved from the necessity of supporting their master's family. Let us give them a fair opportunity to try here in their native home and we need have no fear that they will not more than support themselves. Of course Government will not expect to *make anything out of them* this year.

Monday April 14. Went to Miss Winsor's school and prepared sewing for her girls, with her approval. It seems to me desirable to combine *industry* with other teachings. On returning



home saw Mr. Ketchum, who is head of N[ew] Y[ork] Ass[ociation]. He called for a few moments and went through the Quarters to note operations.

Tuesday. Miss D[onaldson] and I tried to walk to the woods but this proved a failure. The woods receded as we advanced through sandy cotton fields, wading over shoes in dry sand. The field was blue with the little . . . . . so profuse there.

Wednesday 16th April. General Stevens and staff, Mr. Eustis, and Mr. and Mrs. John Forbes<sup>58</sup> called. We had a plain lunch, crackers and sardines.

Thursday. Drove to St. Helenaville. This is the summer residence of the planters, a rude village in a pine wood by the Bay. Houses unfinished generally and unpainted, merely white-washed. Some flower gardens but not much cultivation—simply a resort during July and August. The planters took only a few house servants with them and a little furniture. It is considered more healthful than Beauford, but must be an uninteresting residence unless social life had great charm. There could have been nothing else. I collected some secesh receipts for cooking etc. but nothing important remained.

Friday. Assorted clothing all morning and fitted out school children. These children are peculiarly formed, probably owing to hard work and neglect on part of mothers. Little encouragement to give out new clothes for they will not take care of them. They either play June bug in the sand, with a peculiar hop, raising such a dust you can not see, or else crawl on hands and knees through the sand and very soon soil their new clothes, or the clothes are put out of sight that they may be able to beg for more. They like to hoard. Does this desire of acquisition indicate providence or selfishness? If the former we should hail it and encourage such good omen as will lead to self care and provision for the future.

Generals Hunter and Benham<sup>59</sup> called. We were all invited to dine with General Stevens, pass the night and go to a concert in Beauford, given by the Round Head band. General Stevens sent his carriage for us; I declined because we ought not all to leave home.

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<sup>58</sup> John M. Forbes, of Boston, a passenger on the Atlantic in 1862, but not a member of the Commission.

<sup>59</sup> Brig. Gen. H. W. Benham, who relieved at this time General Sherman.

19th April Saturday. Celebrated by a marriage. Archie Pope with Madeline Wallace. E. L. Pierce conducted ceremonies in very solemn and impressive manner. My first attendance at negro wedding. Grand entertainment and fine dressing, probably finery left by *sest* ladies in their flight, and appropriated by servants. Tulle tunic finished with ruche over white silk, head-dresses of flowers and ribbons and *bouquet de corsage* in profusion.

Sunday. Reached home after midnight and found Mr. and Mrs. Philbrick had made bedroom of the parlor, Miss Ware and Miss Towne<sup>60</sup> occupied [it] with Mrs. Johnson and her sister and all were asleep. Miss Towne will remain with us. My housekeeping has again come round. I pity the sufferers. How it tries me to do anything with such ignorant and untrained servants. I hope I shall be more patient than before even if . . . . . does find fault or expect more than can be furnished. I decline being cook or waiter.

21 Monday. Housekeeping!

22 Tuesday. Mrs. Johnson and Miss Donaldson left for home. Atlantic takes them back to N[ew] Y[ork] with rich experiences of plantation life after slavery left it.

23 Wednesday. Boxes, clothing, all removed to Pope's cotton house. Now it will be much easier to assort, more room and no long ride in the sun. Time will be saved and convenience gained.

Thursday. Hard work all day assorting clothing and keeping house. Horribly bitten by fleas and gnats and stinging sand flies; *Beauty* entirely destroyed! Never suffered so much from bites of insects. Undertake to look after the plantation.

Friday. Drove to Oliver and other Fripp plantations and found people discouraged and discontented because they have no confidence in the promises of Government to pay them for their labor. Cotton agent, Col[onel] Reynolds, has through Mr. Suydam<sup>61</sup> paid some laborers but not many. None here have been paid and they will not believe *we* mean to pay them. Mr. Suydam came to Pope's house one day and told me he had brought

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<sup>60</sup> Laura M. Towne of Philadelphia, who joined the Port Royal workers. Previously she had taught in charity schools in the North. Towne to Walkter, 25 Mar., 1862, in the Society's collections. She made her home in the South, where she established in 1862 what is now the Penn. Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School. "Letters from Port Royal," 16n.

<sup>61</sup> James Adrian Suydam. See p. 7.



some money, but not enough to pay in full, so he had given "tickets for goods in the store" for the remainder. I asked if he knew what exorbitant prices were demanded for those goods, stating that for molasses they charged \$1.00 per gallon when we could buy of commissary in Beauford for 42cts. Salt too they sold 10 cts quart and *very* brown Havana sugar they sold for 25 cts lb. Skirting of ordinary quality  $\frac{3}{4}$  wide they sell for 25cts yd. Mr. S[uydam] said he could only say that *they* had no interest—were merely selling for Government at their own prices. Government had to pay high in Beauford for all articles. I replied, I cannot understand why Gov[ernment] cannot buy at such prices as to afford goods as low as sold by commissaries. Mr. S[uydam] much excited, "I do not know, Miss Walker, you must ask them." "Neither do I know," I returned, "but I think the proper gen[eral] officers ought to understand about it." Exit Mr. S. somewhat ruffled. The next steamer carried these facts through me to the Treasury Department. We will see if such injustice is to continue. No wonder the negroes lose confidence. Park<sup>62</sup> and Thorpe have superintendence of Oliver Fripp and several other plantations. The former is son of Prof[essor] Park of Andover Seminary—not anti slavery and is, perhaps, a little uncomfortable with the laborers. The latter *was* anti slavery, has perhaps the stronger character and Park has prevailed to such a degree that the result of their superintendence has become disaffection almost amounting to mutiny among the people. They refuse to work and grumble continually. Mr. Pierce, Miss T[owne] and I went to see if we could re-assure them and harmonize the discordant elements. We met sour looks and cross words but will try again.

26 Saturday, April. Joy and Thanksgiving! Room all to myself. Such a relief to belong to myself once more! Miss W[insor] has gone to room with Miss T[owne]. Coming as a pioneer, bearing the brunt of the battle, I felt that I so required the strength of this new arrangement that I had a right to ask it now that our number is so reduced that we have two rooms for three ladies. Oh, what infinite relief to come to my own room and feel that no mortal has a right to intrude upon my inmost sanctuary. Here I will try to gather up strength for each day's duties.

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<sup>62</sup> Wm. E. Park. See p. 48.

I am so tired I cannot think and yet I must write out my fatigue before I rest my weary limbs. I have been at the clothing all day and am so tired, so very tired, will not it rest me to write *so tired!* The clothing has gradually become my department. I am willing to take housekeeping half but not all the time. Miss T[owne] does not like changing and though she *hates* house-keeping as much as I do, still prefers it all the time if any. I do not consider this fair, but since she will have it so, consent for the present.

27th Sunday. Too tired to go to church but went to "Praise House" and read New Testament and talked with those who could not go to church. Lingered with old Phillis and Catherine and they related new horrors of Slavery. Told me about ankle fetters, collar and mouth piece and terrible cowhidings and finally the hangings and shootings by slavemasters to prevent escape of servants forced to follow *sesesh* in flight to "the Main." When I said such cruelty could not be, old Phillis, raising her hand to her head in a manner peculiar to herself, exclaimed, "Heigh, you no bleve me, heigh, worse en dat." Here we were interrupted by a messenger to say a gentleman had called to see me. Thus my talk ended for this time.

Monday. Again all day at the clothing while Miss T[owne] attended at home. I have decided to take Jane from school and let her help me pack boxes and I will teach her. It is now too warm for her to walk  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile here before breakfast and go back to school and then return here, as she has been doing, till evening and go home to sleep. She loses so much time and no one is the gainer. Today with her assistance I assorted and re-packed 11 boxes. The clothing department has finally devolved upon me. It is a great responsibility and I will write to the committee and state how matters stand. I do not belong to Boston or any *commission* and perhaps the Boston commission would prefer to send a "special agent" or select some one already sent here by them, for this duty. I have tried to do the best I could. At first Mr. Eustis, Mrs. Johnson, Miss Donaldson and myself assorted clothing at Eustis' overseer house and left it there for Mr. Eustis to send, as packed, to the different superintendents. Mr. Pierce on April 22 had the boxes brought to Pope's cotton house and now I have sole care of it, and it occurs to me that the committee ought to give this charge to one of their agents.



29th April Tuesday. Drove to Gabriel Caper's. He was a bachelor and everything about the place has an exceedingly neglected look. House old and forlorn; cabins wretched and people hopeless. They gathered and gave me some fine white mulberries, here the mulberry is tasteless—I do not like it. Women gathered around me and I tried to explain to them as simply as I could what *government* is; the power that I and they must obey. One bright, intelligent woman, expressed herself very much comforted by what I said. She said they had all been so “confuse;” they did not know what to do; did not know where they belonged or “anything about we.” Old Gabriel, her master's father, was the person selected by the chief men of the Island (St. Helena) to receive Napoleon Bonaparte when they heard of his banishment to St. Helena. Proof undoubted of great intelligence and wisdom on the part of the inhabitants generally. Could there be a St. Helena out of cottendom! “Bleeve ye” the negro would say.

30 April Thursday.<sup>63</sup> Day of grateful rest so needed by tired and worn out system.

May 1 Thursday. Went to Fripp's point with Mr. P[ierce] and Miss Winsor, dined with Mrs. Philbrick and Miss Thorne. Not very interesting place. They will remove to Coffin's p[oin]t when cotton agent Salisbury *vacates*. Stopped at Capt. I[saac] Fripp's on return and found people ragged and discontented. It was a trial to see these people.

Friday. Made out Pay-roll for laborers on Pope's plantation, “The Oaks.” 39 laborers to be paid proportionally for planting  $52\frac{1}{4}$  acres cotton at 1 dollar per acre. They promise that if they can have another mule they will plant 20 acres more. They must be kept at work for their own good.

Saturday. Mrs. French, Curtis, Nicholson, Lieut[enan]ts Belcher and Gregory came to lunch. Mrs. F[rench] made me apology for speaking as she did on several occasions while we were together in Buford.

Sunday. Went to Praise house and read to some of the old people who could not go to church. Read sermon on the Mount to old lame Bess and Robert the cow herd. Interrupted by call

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<sup>63</sup> Evidently Wednesday.

home to receive C. S. [Coast Survey] Officers Boutelle<sup>64</sup> and Boyd. The former, an old acquaintance of mine and friend of Sears [a brother of Miss Walker]. His duties have been for years in this region and he is personally acquainted with all the planters on this and Ladies Island; has often been a guest at their tables. Says that they were generally a hard, uncultivated set. Men minded cotton and women chiefly interested in poultry. "How's your poultry" the first salutation to each other. Some exceptions of taste and refinement among gentlemen and ladies; they had few amusements and few interests apart from cotton; gave few dinners and had but little social life out of their own families. For three weeks there has been no mail! We hear that New Orleans is taken. Is it true?<sup>65</sup> Hope so.

5th May Monday. All day in cotton house assorting clothing and selling to those who come from a distance. Do not wish to sell here or give on account, except to the people on this plantation. Think it better for each superintendent to supply his own people, but they *will* come here from the farthest points. Mr. Eustis has become provost marshal for St. H[elena] and Ladies Island and has issued an order of arrest if any negro is found away from home during working hours. This will be some relief and secure more work in field, but the people have heard that there are white ladies here and boxes of clothing and they would rather walk miles and buy it of us than receive it at home on account. This creates much discussion and we decide against indulging them but it is so hard to refuse what gives them so much comfort, and when they come, after finishing their day's work, however tired I may be, they get something, if I have open boxes. I try to assort and repack so fast as to keep but little on hand for such indulgences.

6th May Tuesday. Gen[eral] Hunter has issued an order and sent Jim Cashman<sup>66</sup> to receive colored volunteers for the

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<sup>64</sup> Assistant C. O. Boutelle in charge of the operations of the Coast Survey in S. Car., Ga., and Fla. C. H. Boyd was under his direction. Rept. of the Supt of the Coast Survey for 1862, 48, 49.

<sup>65</sup> New Orleans was occupied by the Union forces May 1, 1862.

<sup>66</sup> Port Royal was the scene of the first systematic attempt to enlist colored troops in the Civil War. It began when the negro, James Cashman, received instructions to enroll 100 colored volunteers (*Off. Rec.*, Ser. III, vol. II, 53), which met with Pierce's approval and support. When Hunter further ordered all able-bodied negroes to report at Hilton Head



army. I have tried in vain to inspire desire to fight but none wish to volunteer. This is a sad truth and full of deep meaning. All spirit has been so crushed down there is nothing left to rise up in defence of their just rights or to secure freedom. They might and I think would *run* fast and far to escape their masters and the old condition of slavery. They prove this by daily escapes from the Main, where they were forced to follow their runaway masters. Instances of daring and courage, of bold adventure even, show that, when *aroused*, they are equal to defending themselves and securing escape from the Masters under all manner of adverse circumstances. Huge obstacles are surmounted and most wonderful tales of adventure show latent energy and power, but generally the negroes left upon the plantations are those rejected by the masters as least desirable for them to secure. These are *living machines*, many of them so happy that they are left in their quiet homes to work for wages, without lash or driver, they ask nothing beyond the present. They could, I am sure, be *forced* to *fight*, but they will not volunteer to leave their homes. For weeks after the flight of *secesh*, with such of the negroes as could be taken, they would return by night to the plantation to steal others—took them from their beds—took children, till at last, the negroes, for many weeks, did not venture to sleep in their houses, but hid in the woods or along the creek under the shelving banks or in branches of trees. The children were hidden among the cotton beds every night, in the fields, for weeks after Government took Port Royal and adjacent Islands.

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under military escort, he was severely criticised. The blacks were just getting settled in their work, and relieved from the fear of Cuban slavery, when they were called from the fields, collected, impressed, and marched off—"never . . . did a major-general fall into a sadder blunder and rarely had humanity been outraged by an act of more unfeeling barbarity" (*Ibid*, 57). This criticism is severe in the light of Hunter's subsequent explanation that he did not contemplate compulsory service. However, it did remove a large number of laborers from the six to eight thousand acres of newly-planted cotton, thereby preventing a fair trial of the experiment of growing cotton with free labor. Moreover, it created confusion and lack of confidence among the blacks. It would have been well for Hunter to have waited for the arrival of Saxton who was coming with new and full instructions from the War Department relative to the negroes and the plantations. The "Hunter Regiment" was disbanded, except one company, in August, 1862. The first slave regiment mustered into service was the First South Carolina Volunteers. Higginson, "Army Life in a Black Regiment," I, 272-274.

7th May Wednesday. Assorting clothing till very tired. Find so little time for correspondence. Feel so tired I cannot write if I had time, except so stupidly friends would not have interest in reading such letters.

Thursday. Atlantic in at last with heavy mail. A few came on 4th and more promised. Wish friends would be more generous. If they could know what a restorer is a letter, wouldn't they write? Mr. & Mrs. Forbes, Mr. and Mrs. Eustis and Willie dined with us. Wrote S. P. C. [Salmon P. Chase?] about the brutal attack<sup>67</sup> of Col. Nobles on Mr. Pierce.

9th May Friday. Begin to like Miss T. [Towne?], think she will wear well. She takes care of Phil[adelphia] Clothing by their request.

Saturday. Will have a few return letters for Atlantic. Mr. and Mrs. Forbes expect to go and Mr. Eustis talks of going. Very sorry to lose Mr. Eustis. Believe him to be nobly and truly interested in solution of the great Industrial problem of free labor. He is unpopular with the laborers within his jurisdiction, but I have full faith in his earnest purposes and efforts in their behalf. That he is laboring for their elevation and general improvement.

11th May Sunday. Great excitement!<sup>68</sup> Capt[ain] Stevens brings order from Gen[eral] Hunter that all colored men between 18 and 45 capable of bearing arms shall be taken to Hilton Head—no explanation. What can it mean? Are these men contrary to all American usages—U. S. usages rather, to be impressed *against will* to military service? I am filled with amazement, indignation and sorrow. I am called upon, as superintendent of this plantation, to select the persons coming within Gen[eral] Hunter's requisition. How can I do it? Blinded by tears that will not be kept back, I write the names almost as signing their death warrants. The saddest duty I ever performed. If I could but speak to them before hand, I would prepare them, if possible, for any duty, but this is not permitted.

12 May Monday. Rose early and sought to be prepared for the trials in waiting. Capt[ain] Stevens last night brought a company of armed soldiers and paraded before our door previous to distribution over the Island. The negroes became alarmed.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> The trouble was over the collection of cotton.

<sup>68</sup> and <sup>69</sup> See note 66.



They feared the return of secesh, and, as some of the house servants knew we were invited by Mr. Forbes to go to Hilton Head in his yacht, they were half afraid of our deserting them as their masters had done; that the Hilton Head excursion was but a pretext for escape. They watched the creek all night for fear of attack, poor creatures, what could they have done against the attack they feared!

Early after breakfast Capt[ain] Stevens came with his soldiers to demand the men. I asked to be permitted to speak to them, when assembled, before he should give them his order. He did not give consent but ordered the soldiers to load their guns in the very faces of the assembled men and then told them Gen[eral] Hunter had ordered them to Hilton Head, at the same moment ordering soldiers to fire on any one attempting to disobey the order of Gen[eral] Hunter. I could keep silent no longer and, stepping down from the porch to where the negroes stood, I assured them I knew no more than themselves about Gen[eral] Hunter's order, but believed him to be their friend and that no harm would be done them; conjured them to go willingly and be obedient to every command. I promised to take good care of their families in their absence. One whispered that his wife was in "family way" would I see after her? I gladly promised and giving each a plug of tobacco left them.

I do not think Capt[ain] Stevens meant to be so stern as he seemed. He is but a boy and extremely diffident and in no sympathy with our work here for the negroes. He said, when I besought him to be kind to the men so strangely and cruelly ordered to Hilton Head, "Yes, poor devils—Before I do such dirty work again I will resign." Poor Captain, you do not see the "dirty work" from my standpoint—but we will not here stop to discuss. The men were called from the field and thus hurried off without time for coat or shoes or a good bye to their families. The women stood near by, crying, though half assured by my presence in their midst, that nothing wrong would be done. The school house scene was one of great excitement; Capt[ain] Stevens drew up with his men to the negro quarters. Negroes quite unprepared, had no one to give them confidence. Women wept and children screamed as men were torn from their embrace. This is a sad day throughout these Islands. What does it portend? Mr. Pierce has gone to Hilton Head to see Gen[eral]

Hunter about it. A new experience for *our* country! Never before have *free* men been compelled to bear arms. Shall it be suffered? Let us wait the explanation. Did not go on excursion with Mr. F[orbes]; needed at home to encourage the people and had no heart for the excursion that in the distance looked so bright and promised so much.

13th May. Return of Mr. Pierce. Gen[eral] Hunter says he will *compel* none of the negroes to join the army. Will send back, with free papers all who do not wish to remain. All right, General, go on.

Col[onel] Reynolds has sent for "tickets" issued by his employee Suydam, and says he will never pay money instead of those tickets for picking the cotton. Sits the wind so? I am glad I spoke the word for justice and right against oppression even though I angered the oppressor. Let me ever find strength to do right. About the 23d April these "tickets" were issued in part payment for cotton picking. The objection to them was that they were "good" only at stores kept by cotton agents whose prices for all articles nearly doubled *Beauford* prices, which are not considered very *cheap*, to say the least. By my oath of allegiance, I promised to do all in my power to promote the best good of the negroes and I shall be false to my oath if I did not seek to prevent such extortion.

14th May Wednesday. Assorting clothing all day, very tired, and retire early.

15th. Drove to the Baptist church and gathered moss from those grand old oaks that overhang church and graveyard. The superb magnolia is in bloom; I gathered one by the roadside and it scents the air all around. How I wish Maria could see one of these trees full with its magnificent white flowers 6 inches in diameter and so purely white like the *Cornus* which is never out of flower. The ride did me good and I returned ready to go on with my day's duties. Found Col[onel] Reynolds and Suydam. Col[onel] very graciously offered the *Flora* to take us to Edisto, *also* offered to examine *Whitings trade* with negroes. Said Sec[retary] Chase told him complaints had been made of unjust charges. He knew nothing about any such but would enquire and if possible would have money returned. All over pay at Whiting's store should be refunded. Would I receive it and return to negroes? I said Mr. Whiting could better do it



as he only knew what sales *on account* had been made having made them all himself. Col[onel] argued that, inasmuch as Whiting's store and our store house had been broken into and robbed of a good deal of clothing it was only a "fair return" if the negroes upon this plantation had been charged such exorbitant prices. Inasmuch as there was no proof or even suspicion that our laborers committed the theft I did not consider his argument *very strong*.

16 May Friday. Busy packing boxes as usual. Will hurry them off because cotton house has been twice broken open and I do not think clothing very safe there.

17th May Saturday. Gen[eral] Saxton<sup>70</sup> not yet arrived yet a letter from Secretary Chase received 6th May informed me that the Port Royal contrabands and plantations had been put into his charge. Anxious to see him and decide whether he will wish me to remain and whether I wish to do so. Am greatly interested in these people and it is a gratification to me to hear them urge me to stay. Do they need me? Can I be useful? I am not quite sure of either and therefore hesitate. Mr. French came to pass the night here and preach tomorrow. He says he spoke with the Sec[retary] at Washington about me and he, Mr. French, advised my remaining and so does the present agent, Mr. Pierce. Will not decide till I see General Saxton.

18th May Sunday. Mr. French preached but I did not go to church. Went to the Quarters and read to the old and infirm who could not go to church.

19th Monday. Packed boxes and assorted clothing. Find but little time to visit and talk to the women, but do it as often as I can. They must give their houses and yards again a thorough cleaning to keep off fever and pestilence.

20 Tuesday. Mr. Zachos came with boat and oarsmen to take us to Paris Island, his home. A 2 hours run from here. Found it a charming location, near the Bay and only 6 miles from Hilton Head. Glad to look upon our good War ships once more. There they stand to guard Port Royal entrance and no Secesh will dare venture into the jaws of such monsters. Some negroes have come in with a gun boat (Planter) from Charleston, which they very admirably managed to steal from their masters and bring over with their families from C[harlestown]. Boat

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<sup>70</sup> Brig. Genl. Rufus Saxton.

prized at some 60.000 dollars. It is thought the negroes will have the prize money. Hope they will. Spent 3 hours with Mr. Zachos and Mr. Ellery, dined, and ways and means were provided to take us home. Mr. Pierce and Mr. Eustis had saddle horses. An old open wagon very insecure was attached by means of ropes etc. to an old horse, which Miss T[owne] offered to drive if I would venture. We seated ourselves but no room being left for Zachos we took leave of him. A negro boy clung behind the wagon to open gates and be ready in case of break down, which was confidently anticipated by Zachos, but as he had nothing better for us we were willing to try his *best*. Thus we set forth and Miss T[owne] took the lines while I took the whip, which had very short handle and very long lash. My first effort broke the stick which was only a dead tree branch. After this accident I tried in vain to use the lash. Sesesh horse knew it and would not budge out of a walk. For 3 miles we travelled over cotton fields and blackberry beds—acres of deliciously large ripe fruit tempted but not once did we stop because our *out riders* were impatient and galloped on before us, most ungallant, indeed. Arrived at last at Fuller's plantation; we found a crowd of ragged women and naked children awaiting us and a set of oarsmen and boat ready to take us home. Two hours row against the tide brought us at sunset to our home. A day of pleasure to me though no shark would show himself in the creek or alligator upon bank and we saw no moccasin or rattlesnake in wood or reed field or marshy Island. I had my kerchief filled with eggs which the women brought as gifts to us. This is their fashion—wherever we go they insist on giving one or more nice fresh eggs. I always regret it if I do not take thread, needles etc. to return gift for gift, though they refuse *pay* for their eggs.

21st May Wednesday. Visit from my old friend Wm. Dennis in command of Coast Survey schooner. Haven't met for 7 years, very glad to see my Washington friend.

22 May Thursday. Drove to Phrogmore. Brother Joseph's classmate, Mr. Soule,<sup>71</sup> superintendent. Saw Jane and found her house looking nice as herself. Came home laden with eggs.

23 Friday. Col[onel] Cunningham, Paymaster on Wabash came to pass the night with his friend Mr. Pierce. Is South

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<sup>71</sup> Richard Soule of the Boston Commission.



Carolinian and born in Charleston. Our waiting woman, Rhina, says her father was coachman to his father. Col[onel] very agreeable, is friend of Charles Sumner's. Gave me card and offered civilities cordially, but I fear his offer to take us to Charleston when sesesh is driven out, and secure for us the best house, will hardly be accepted. Can I wonder that, though loyal to our flag, he should feel tenderly toward his birth-place and childhood's home?

24 Saturday. Sent off last box, packed for some days and in this waiting time have tried to do up several long neglected things, writing, etc.

25 Sunday. Easterly storm, cold and seems like New England. I enjoy it immensely, will quite set me up. Went to church but so few the regular service was omitted. Except Welles<sup>72</sup> no one there but those our carriage took along, Mrs. H.<sup>73</sup> and myself, coachman and 6 *hangers on*.

26 May. Cool and cloudy—wanted to go to Beauford but Mr. P[ierce] so disagreeable about the horses I would not accept them. . . .

27 Tuesday. Think so seriously of leaving that I had pen in hand last night to ask Gen[eral] Benham to secure state-room for me on next steamer. Will not remain here if Whittings stay. Drove to Hazles in morning found neglected houses and cotton agent goods at exorbitant prices. 3½ yds calico for \$1.50, coarse shirting 7⁄8 wide 16 cts yd. Drove to Churches in the evening but did not much enjoy ride—too crowded—will not go again unless object more tempting.

28 Wed. Sewing all day and teaching Jane; she can read easy lesson, write a little and add simple numbers. She is a disagreeable child and I keep her only with hope of being useful to her.

29 Thursday. Mr. Ruggles came with barrel of molasses and we distributed a quart to each family adding extra pint for several children. Very amusing to watch the children stealing a *lick* at the stopper. A pleasant frolic. The people glad always to get "swetnin"; have had so little since sesesh left. Mail in with letters from Sec. Chase for me and one of introduction to Gen. Saxton—a nice letter and may decide me to stay if Whiting

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<sup>72</sup> G. M. Welles, Supt. of Plantations.

<sup>73</sup> Probably Mrs. Edward Hooper.

leaves the Oaks. Should not be willing to see him continue his abominations with no one to protest. . . .

30 Friday. Distributed salt to the negroes about a quart to a family.

Sat. 31. Distributed salt to each family instead of drive to Jenkins' plantation.

Sunday 1st June. Probably my last Sunday at St. Helena. Went to church. Rev. Mr. Horton, Baptist, preached about Jacob's well that was cut in solid rock. Wesley says "cleanliness is next to godliness". Mr. Horton enforced external and internal application of water. Spoke well. Special agent Pierce made a short address and people said goodbyes, etc. Quite affecting. I sat by window, from which a beautiful picture attracted my admiration. A magnificent live oak extended its wide-spreading branches with long grey pendants of moss, as if to embrace the sacred graveyard and hold it in its deep shade, impenetrable to the burning sunbeams glancing around. White marble monuments dotted here and there, beautifully contrasting with the living shining green all around. A delicate black iron railing protected the hallowed spot. In the background, amid the luxuriance of summer foliage, stood a horse whose outlines occasionally revealed through the waning foliage, lent life to the scene. On the other side and nearer, stood a saddle only—the animal almost invisible among the thick foliage. The grey moss like death banners floating in the breeze seemed fit hanging for this consecrated spot. In front of the grave yard fence a group of God's images cut in ebony, reclined carelessly but artistically grouped. The Great Master must have arranged them. Girls, and young mothers with infants in arms, arrayed in Sunday finery, some in white, some in pink and scarlet, sat among the tall green grass, with handsome black and yellow profile or full face defined upon the white obelisk or lighted by contrast as head rested against the shaft. Ivory teeth *told* in this tableaux vivant, and merry voices born on breeze, sometimes higher than the preachers, gave evidence of joy in this Sunday holiday, such as the Old World peasantry find in what in our land is too much called "The Sabbath" with accompanying restrictions.

Why should they not be happy? If they came to worship *in church*, they found it filled full and running over, and very naturally the young people sat down together in the shade for a



little innocent rest and gossip. Doubtless some amusing relation of week a day's experience might have elicited the laugh, which I enjoyed while I missed nothing the preacher said.

Monday 2d June. Ericsson in with a small mail. Saxton ordered to Harper's Ferry to re-inforce Banks. Will not come here at all, as special agent thinks. I do not like this and consult my oracle, Mr. Eustis. Ask him to advise me as a friend. shall I go or stay? I have some personal annoyances that make me desirous to be out of present surroundings, still I would bear with all manner of disagreeables if the consciousness of great usefulness sustained me. I do not mention annoyances but ask what are Mr. Eustis's views of the good of women here in existing circumstances.

Mr. Eustis says he has made his home for years in this region and he thinks the summer heat will prevent any exertion. Women, instead of doing anything will themselves be a care. Since the port has become free, by removal of the blockade, notwithstanding the stringent circular per Treasury Department, St. Helena will be subject to marauders from trading vessels. There is no protection and no power to give it. The troops are needed elsewhere and it is not probable that Government will keep sufficient force to guard the Island from depredators, who will come to forage. Even if soldiers should be stationed there, would not their influences be a dread and terror? The presence of two or three women would be no restraint for Beauford, with all its protection, has become subject to all manner of evil influences flowing from the presence of encamped soldiers. This is one phase. The question of possibility of remaining is another. Mr. Eustis thinks the health question will decide the ladies to leave St. Helena for some more healthful locality, Beauford or the village. The former is for me *impossible* and I do not wish an idle July and August at the desolate village. I should die of ennui. What then? Go north and see how things are in the autumn.

I am not prepared to accept this as my life work—doubt my vocation for it and do not feel a drawing toward it unless I can have such position and power as will justify my undertaking something beyond present duties. I do not wish to take the responsibility of the Clothing Department. I do not feel that I should satisfactorily fill the post of teacher, which I hold to be

of first importance. There are duties I will not mention that I consider important and which, in all candor, I might undertake under different circumstances. Do not think I shall, but, nous verrons. I would not stand in the way of usefulness, perhaps far greater than I can render and so I will withdraw from certain conditions I am not willing to accept. I was unwise in accepting any responsibility in coming here and I will not continue to act against my better judgment.

Tuesday 3d June. Ask Mr. Pierce to secure State-room and passage north.

Wednesday. Decided at last "with mingled emotions of pleasure and pain" as the mourning spouse said when announcing the death of her husband.

Thursday 5th June. Hurried to Beauford because Ericsson reported to sail to day or tomorrow and passengers must be ready. Dr. Peck and daughter and Miss Needham going. Advised to stay at Dr. Peck's till the steamer sails. *Hate* to intrude but what can I do? They kindly say stay but gentlemen must be disturbed if I do. Brought no mattress and find none for me. Mr. Judd kindly procures one and I have sheets with me and army blanket. Will try to find candlestick and Miss Peck will spare me a wash basin. Begin life anew after having gradually established certain necessities at St. Helena.

Wonderful land this of the chivalry. Shall I ever leave it? I *cannot* again go through a parting scene so will not return to St. Helena, though Mr. Hooper came to say my room is all in order and urge my return to remain till Steamer sails.

Friday. Still no steamer. Ericsson ordered to Key West instead of returning north. Will wait with all patience with the Pecks.

Friday evening, 10 o'clock. Is all well? Somewhat doubtfully I retire.

Headquarters, Gen. Benham.

At 8 A. M. Mr. Judd<sup>74</sup> and Provost Marshal called . . . A few moments after signal lights were exchanged between Beauford and . . . [blank] immediately the long . . . [blank] sounded alarm of an attack and in a few more moments the orderly rushed in saying rebels were in Beauford. Nothing remained for us but escape. I went to my

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<sup>74</sup> Supt. of Port Royal Island.



room and made clean toilette and packed trunk and valise for flight. This done I learned that we were safe till morning and was advised to retire and sleep till morning in security. I tried in vain to sleep for all night was hurrying to and fro and riding with hot haste. The steamer Potomac came along opposite my window to receive provision and ammunition and guns for our troops at Store. Early morning found me early prepared for what might be in waiting. A messenger came to say the ladies must go on board Potomac for Hilton Head, where they would be safe, and the men must all repair to the Arsenal for arms and prepare to defend Beauford. Already 3000 rebels had landed on Ladies Island! A wagon drew up to receive trunks and baggage generally and 3 minutes given for all to be on board. We hastily weighed anchor and off steaming and blowing in the bright sunshine with thermometer 79! An hour brought us to the view of our grand protection ship Wabash, where gallant Commander Dupont promises us safety if within range of his guns. A few moments more and we are at Hilton Head where we find orders from Gen[eral] Hunter to proceed to his Head Quarters and wait till a place of safety can be found for us. Trunks and boxes are hurried off for Potomac must return to Beaufort with troops to re-inforce our braves left there. I came to Gen. Benham's head quarters by courtesy of his aid Capt[ain] Ely, and because the Gen[eral] is my old friend. At his table I now write these

[Here the Journal abruptly ends.]

COPY OF LIST OF NAMES OF ALL PERSONS, APPROVED BY  
MR. PIERCE, WHO WENT DOWN TO PORT ROYAL IN THE  
ATLANTIC, LEAVING NEW YORK MARCH 3<sup>d</sup> [1862].

- |                                 |                           |   |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Edward W. Hooper.....        | "Educational commission." |   |
| 2. Edward S. Philbrick.....     | "                         | " |
| 3. William C. Gannett.....      | "                         | " |
| 4. George H. Blake.....         | "                         | " |
| 5. John C. Zachos.....          | "                         | " |
| 6. Dr. A. Judson Wakefield..... | "                         | " |
| 7. James F. Sisson.....         | "                         | " |
| 8. Isaac W. Cole.....           | "                         | " |
| 9. James W. R. Hill.....        | "                         | " |
| 10. James H. Palmer.....        | "                         | " |
| 11. David F. Thorpe.....        | "                         | " |
| 12. David Mack .....            | "                         | " |
| 13. T. Edwin Ruggles.....       | "                         | " |

14.	James M. F. Howard.....	"Educational commission."	
15.	Francis E. Barnard.....	"	"
16.	Dr. James Waldock.....	"	"
17.	Richard Soule, Sr.....	"	"
18.	Leonard Wesson .....	"	"
19.	Dr. Charles H. Brown.....	"	"
20.	William E. Park.....	"	"
21.	James E. Taylor.....	"	"
22.	Frederick A. Eustis.....	"	"
23.	Daniel Bowe .....	"	"
24.	William S. Clark.....	"	"
25.	Samuel D. Phillips.....	"	"
26.	Rev <sup>d</sup> Mansfield French.....	N. Y. Society.	
27.	Nathan R. Johnson.....	"	"
28.	Rev <sup>d</sup> Isaac W. Brinkerhoff.....	"	"
29.	George B. Peck.....	"	"
30.	Edmund Price .....	"	"
31.	John D. Lathrop.....	"	"
32.	Drury F. Cooper.....	"	"
33.	Robert N. Smith.....	"	"
34.	Henry A. Cowderry.....	"	"
35.	Dr. James P. Greves.....	"	"
36.	John T. Ashley.....	"	"
37.	George C. Fox.....	"	"
38.	John H. Brown.....	"	"
39.	Lyman Knowlton .....	"	"
40.	Albert Bellamy .....	"	"
41.	Ninian Niven .....	"	"
42.	Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hale.....	Boston Society.	
43.	Miss Mena Hale.....	"	"
44.	Miss Mary Waldock.....	"	"
45.	Miss Ellen H. Winsor.....	"	"
46.	Miss Hannah Curtis.....	N. Y. Society.	
47.	Miss Mary Nicholson.....	"	"
48.	Mrs. James Harlan.....	"	"
49.	Mrs. A. M. French.....	"	"
50.	Miss Ellen H. Peck.....	"	"
51.	Miss Susan Walker .....	Secy Chase.	
52.	Mrs. Walter R. Johnson.....	"	"
53.	Miss Mary A. Donaldson.....	"	"

[The above list is attached to the Journal.]



Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

Vol. VII, 1912, Nos. 2 & 3  
JUNE AND SEPTEMBER

MOVEMENT IN OHIO TO DEPORT  
THE NEGRO

*By*

HENRY NOBLE SHERWOOD

Instructor of History, University of Cincinnati

AND

REPRINTS OF TWO PAMPHLETS UPON  
COLONIZATION

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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The two pamphlets reprinted in this number of the Quarterly relate to different phases of the removal of the negro to Africa with his consent.

The first in order is from a copy in the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio entitled "A Brief Exposition, etc., etc." It sets forth in the form of an address to the people of Ohio the purposes of the Ohio State Colonization Society and of its parent, the American Colonization Society. In an appendix are contained a list of officers and managers of the Ohio State Society; a list of local societies auxiliary to the Ohio State Society; a set of "Instructions" for the organization and conduct of new auxiliary societies; and the Constitution of the Ohio State Society. At the date of this pamphlet, 1827, the abolition movement had made but little progress and it was still unthinkable that a negro should be raised to equality with his white neighbor before the law. Thus the argument in behalf of the colonization of the negro beyond the bounds of the United States is fairly summed up in a paragraph at the bottom of page four which reads,

"A manumitted slave remains a negro still, and must ever continue in a state of political bondage; and it is obvious that he who is deprived of the inherent rights of a citizen can never become a loyal subject."

"Ohio in Africa," the second pamphlet, is from a copy in the possession of Oberlin University, Oberlin, Ohio, which has been good enough to lend it for the purpose of the present reprinting. This is a "Memorial" addressed to the General Assembly of Ohio praying an appropriation of money for promoting and developing negro colonies on the west coast of Africa. It is of unusual interest for its account of what had actually been done in Africa to prepare the way for the settlement of negroes. At the date of this Memorial, 1851, the Liberian experiment was

no longer a novelty. The narrative deals rather with other settlements or purchases of land for settlement in the neighboring region, funds for which had been provided by private persons, but not in adequate amount.

Both these pamphlets are rare and it is thought that this and the essential interest of the colonization project to which they relate make them worth reprinting here.

Cincinnati, Ohio, September, 1912.

## THE MOVEMENT IN OHIO TO DEPORT THE NEGRO.

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### ORIGIN AND SCOPE.

The Negro problem in some form has been constantly before the American people. Perhaps no other question has so often or so profoundly agitated the public mind. It exacted attention in Colonial times and was reckoned one of the causes of the American Revolution; it was debated in the Federal Convention; it has been discussed on the floor of Congress. Political campaigns have been fought on this issue alone and politicians have risen and fallen according as they took their stand for or against the negro. The editor, the preacher and the novelist have been drawn into the controversy, for it has penetrated every element in our society and every state in the Union.

Since its appearance in the ordinance of 1787 the question of the negro has held a conspicuous place in Ohio annals. Here, as elsewhere, opinion has been divided and no solution of the question has won an unanimous following. There have always been two parties each seeking to undo the work of the other. In the Constitutional Convention of 1802 the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties formally appeared and the debates on this topic aroused such warmth of feeling that the success of the convention was endangered. Each side won a partial victory—the anti-slavery party secured the prohibition of slavery and the pro-slavery party secured a white man's constitution. Prohibition of slavery was thus fixed for Ohio, but the question—What was to be done with the free negro?—was left open.

Under the Constitution of 1802 the free negro could neither vote nor hold office. He could take no part in public affairs, and yet was considered a fit subject for legislation. The General Assembly in 1804, and again in 1807, enacted laws designed to restrict the immigration of freedmen into Ohio and to safeguard the public against the possibility of the free black becoming a



charge. Subsequent legislation strengthened these laws despite the efforts of the opposition, who, with the blacks, sent petition after petition to the legislature requesting the repeal of all laws against the colored people.

Legislation, however, did not prevent a noticeable, even an alarming, increase in the negro population. For every negro in 1800 there were six in 1810; and in 1820 the negro population was 4,723, of whom a large percentage came from the border slave states of Virginia and Kentucky. Immigrants came not only of their own accord but in some instances whole colonies were freed to settle in Ohio. In 1819, 420 settled in Brown County,<sup>1</sup> and in a few years over 1,000 were brought to Ohio. The most notable of these colonies was that composed of the slaves of John Randolph who were settled in Mercer and the adjoining counties.<sup>2</sup>

About this time a movement which had long been agitated by noted individuals and by the General Assembly of Virginia took national form. This was the organization of the American Colonization Society in Washington, D. C., on December 28, 1816. This Society proposed to deport to Africa, or elsewhere, with their consent, the free blacks of the United States. It offered a negro policy designed to satisfy all. Here seemed to be a plan well adapted to Ohio, where the free blacks were beginning to be alarmingly numerous. The citizens of Ohio were already divided into two hostile camps over the negro, some favoring the existing legislation against him and others crying for immediate and total emancipation. Why could not these discordant elements unite in one movement to deport the negro to Africa? This suggestion had been considered by the Union Humane Society<sup>3</sup> at St. Clairsville in 1815, and it met with approval. The leading spirit in this Society was Benjamin Lundy, who afterward conducted manumitted slaves to Hayti and sought to establish a colony of them in Mexico; and it was probably due to his influence that the proposal met with success at its inception (*Life of Benjamin Lundy*, page 16). But the citizens of St. Clairsville were not the only ones favorable to the deportation of the negro.

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<sup>1</sup>Ohio Ho. of Rep. Jour. 1859, App. p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. Evans in *New England Mag.* V, 442 et seq.

<sup>3</sup>A manuscript containing the Constitution and the Proceedings for 1816, 1817 and 1818 of the Union Humane Society is in the MSS. Coll. of the Society.

The people of Harrison, Delaware, Warren and Hamilton Counties sent petitions to the legislature in December, 1817, praying "that measures may be taken to effect the emancipation and colonization of people of color."<sup>4</sup> Their petitions received attention from the General Assembly, for in January, 1818, a resolution was adopted advising Ohio Congressmen to use their best efforts to procure the passage of a law in accordance with the desire of the Memorialists.<sup>5</sup>

By this time people in other parts of the state seemed to have been aroused over this new scheme and were willing publicly to advocate it. For example, the grand jury of Ross County, after completing its regular work, resolved "That, we, the grand jury in Ross County, do hereby concur in the great and benevolent plan instituted by the American Colonization Society at Washington City for the purpose of colonizing the free people of color on the continent of Africa; and do recommend it to the patronage of the good people of this country."<sup>6</sup> This was in March, 1827, and eight months afterward the Ohio State Colonization Society held its first annual meeting, and thus was launched an organized movement to deport the negroes from the State.

The Ohio State Colonization Society held its first annual meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives in December, 1827. It was not the first organization in Ohio for promoting the cause of deportation, as one existed as early as 1818. A number of other societies auxiliary to the parent society at Washington had been formed.<sup>7</sup> But none possessed officers and managers of so much note. The President of the Ohio Society was Jeremiah Morrow, who had been a conspicuous figure in Ohio since the Constitutional Convention of 1802.<sup>8</sup> Among the Vice-Presidents were the Speaker of the Senate, Abraham Shepherd; the President of Miami University, R. H. Bishop; and the President of the Ohio University, R. J. Wilson.<sup>9</sup> Like the other Colonization Societies it was auxiliary to the American Colonization Society and was designed to head the movement in the State and to serve as a medium of communication between the parent Society and the local

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<sup>4</sup>Ohio Sen. Jour. 1817, pp. 103-137.

<sup>5</sup>Similar resolutions were adopted in 1824.

<sup>6</sup>African Repos. III, 23.

<sup>7</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st annual meeting, 6-9.

<sup>8</sup>Life of Jeremiah Morrow, by Josiah Morrow, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup>See "Exposition," p. 89 of this Quarterly.

societies. The second article of its Constitution clearly sets forth the purposes of the Society, "the object to which its attention shall be exclusively directed is the colonization on the coast of Africa (with their own consent) of the free people of color of the United States, and such as may from time to time obtain their freedom; and this Society will contribute its funds and efforts to the attainment of that object by aiding free colored persons of Ohio to emigrate to Africa and by contributing its funds not thus appropriated to the treasury of the American Colonization Society."<sup>10</sup>

The selection of Africa as the destination of the emigrants was common among the advocates of colonization although other places had at times been mentioned. In 1824 a Society had been organized in Cincinnati to investigate the feasibility of colonization in Hayti.<sup>11</sup> In 1862 E. P. Walker actually organized a party of negroes to go to Hayti. At this time Hayti offered the negroes free passage, care on their arrival and the richest unoccupied coffee and cotton lands. (Cincinnati Daily Gazette, March 14, 1862). In 1835 Samuel J. Latta, an active member of the colonization movement advocated Canada or Oregon.<sup>12</sup> As late as 1848 a resolution was introduced in the Ohio Senate seeking the passage of a national law setting apart some of the territory acquired from Mexico for the blacks, allotting to each individual as many acres of land as might be reasonable.<sup>13</sup>

Africa, however, was the general choice. It was the home of the negro. The free black could carry civilization thither and could establish a barrier against slave trade. He would derive great benefit by settling in Africa as was well set forth by the President of the Ohio State Colonization Society December 19, 1827, when he said: "(The blacks are) an unfortunate race of men who . . . do not, but in a small degree, participate in the privileges and immunities of the country, and who, from causes in their nature inevitable and reasons insuperable, never can be admitted to the full enjoyment of those rights as fellow citizens. It is proposed to remove them . . . to a territory which they can claim as their own, where they may enjoy under a constitution

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<sup>10</sup>Constitution in orig. pamph. "Exposition."

<sup>11</sup>Niles' Register, XXVII, 171.

<sup>12</sup>Western Christian Advocate, Sept. 18, 1835.

<sup>13</sup>Ohio Sen. Jour. 1848, 97, 98.



and government adapted to their situation all the rights and privileges which of right belong to a separate independent community."<sup>14</sup> No artificial barriers could be set up by whites in Africa to bar the development of people of color. There they might enjoy social equality, educational privileges and political liberty. The courts would be free to them and justice would reign supreme. In truth, Africa was to be the promised land of these children of bondage.

The whites also would profit by the exodus of the colored population. The state would be relieved of an unfortunate class of people, vicious and degraded, deprived of every incentive to physical, moral and intellectual improvement. It was pointed out that the negroes contributed a larger percentage of the prisoners in the jails and penitentiaries than any other class. They were transitory people without fixed habits or a permanent abode. Moreover, the geographical situation of the state made her the refuge of a redundant and superannuated slave population. These unhappy creatures with all the ignorant and degraded habits of thinking and acting that pertain to slavery were thrown into Ohio in yearly increasing multitudes, to live here without either the qualifications or the privileges of citizens or of freedmen. If this state of affairs continued for a few years the black population would by immigration and natural increase soon equal that of the whites; and then, as one writer expressed it, when hundreds have fled to Ohio as the asylum of freedom, who will desire her pleasant plains and valleys as a residence? Furthermore, in the fearful event of a servile war it would not be in a slave-holding state or among slaves that those schemes of blood and ruin would be laid and ripened into maturity; but here where the negro enjoyed enough freedom to feel his chains would he be encouraged to break them off without the watchful restraints of a master.<sup>15</sup> Thus it behooved Ohio to preserve the purity of her morals and the safety and perpetuity of her political institutions.<sup>16</sup>

Since the movement in Ohio was part of the national organization its advocates pointed out the advantage that would accrue to the nation—namely, general emancipation. Here aboli-

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<sup>14</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 3, 4.

<sup>15</sup>“Exposition,” p. 85; and Ohio Sen. Jour. 1834, 446-450.

<sup>16</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 4, 9.

tionists might unite with colonizationists. President Benham of the Cincinnati Society declared that colonization would stimulate voluntary emancipation, for it would remove "the evil against which the laws restricting emancipation were intended to guard, induce those states distinguished for their chivalry and independence not only to modify or abrogate those laws, but to enact others for the safe and gradual abolition of slavery."<sup>17</sup> In this way colonization was connected with the gradual and peaceful emancipation of slavery.<sup>18</sup> Here was a solution of the slavery question that would bring harmony to the nation and to the state. And the colonizationist emphasized this fact. At Chillicothe, July 4, 1830, the Rev. Joseph Claybaugh said: "(We) do not ask you to emancipate slaves by violating any of the state laws, but let your voice be raised in indicating . . . a safe door to progressive emancipation with the consent of the master, and in perfect harmony with the laws of the State."<sup>19</sup> The Managers of the Ohio Society asserted that "Either in a consistent and vigorous execution of the privileges of a peaceful and benevolent policy, or by the power of the sword, will they, together with their brethren, who are in bondage, be destroyed or expelled from our territory in the midst of the horrors of a servile war."<sup>20</sup>

Colonization had yet another point to recommend it to the people of Ohio—the deliverance of Africa. This land of ignorance, idolatry and superstition would be transformed by the colonization of American negros. Like missionaries they would carry to Africa the torch of civilization and the light of Christianity, and Ethiopia would stretch forth her hand unto God. With this appeal the colonizationists went before the churches to enlist their support and contribution.<sup>21</sup>

When Africa was thus regenerated, where could the slave trader replenish his diabolical ships? Every colony planted on the African coast rendered a district immune to the traffic. As the colony grew in numbers and increased in area this influence must spread. Soon a great area on the West coast most frequented by the slaver would be dotted with settlements whose presence would be a barrier to the intercourse between slaver and

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<sup>17</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. 14th An. Rep., 23, 25; and African Rep. VI, 373-5.

<sup>18</sup>Rice, N. L., and Blanchard, J., *Debate on Slavery*, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup>Afric. Repos. VII, 81-89.

<sup>20</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 9.

<sup>21</sup>Afric. Repos. VII, 81-89.

native. As time went on the natives uplifted by intercourse with their new neighbors would refuse on moral grounds to trade in human flesh. A vast outlay of human energy and material wealth would be diverted to the pursuit of a legitimate commerce in which Africa would contribute the products of her soil and the wealth of her mines. The flags of all nations would bring their products to Africa, but no flag would be more kindly received than that of the United States which would have made possible the colony's existence.

Thus we see that the movement in Ohio to deport the blacks involved the removal of the whole colored population of the United States as well. The magnitude of the undertaking was fully realized. The sad experience of English colonizing in America was not overlooked. To transport the negroes to Africa and to care for the colony during its infancy would require vast resources beyond what private means could afford. Therefore appeal was made time and again to the State legislature for funds.

In 1827 Governor Morrow said to the legislature: "There is nothing more evident than the inability of the Society aided solely by private charity to carry their whole scheme into effect. If the object shall ever be fully accomplished it must be by the aid of the strong arm of the government."<sup>22</sup> Not only the states must help, but the nation as well must co-operate. Only with the aid of the state and the national government could this great project be consummated."<sup>23</sup> And with this purpose prominently set before them the men of the colonization movement in Ohio entered upon their undertaking.

#### PERSONNEL AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

As soon as the organization of the Ohio State Colonization Society at Columbus was completed numerous auxiliaries sprang up throughout the State. The State Society sought to plant an auxiliary in every city, county and town of the State, reserving for itself the function of mediator between these societies and the American Colonization Society at Washington. In this it was unsuccessful. Societies auxiliary to the parent society, formed in the State before the State organization, continued to retain their close relation with the former. In ten years after

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid, 313.

<sup>23</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 5.



the formation of the State society there were about one hundred colonization societies in Ohio.<sup>24</sup> So rapidly were they organized that a writer in the *African Repository* said, "New and valuable societies are springing up by enchantment."<sup>25</sup> They were most numerous in the southern part of the State, especially in the counties adjoining Cincinnati. Out of forty-five city societies thirty were in the southern part of the State, and of nineteen county societies fifteen were in the southern or central sections. This is doubtless explained by the fact that the negro population was most numerous in the southern counties. Here, too, were many Quakers, who previous to the advent of the abolitionists aided the deportation movement. The cause of colonization, however, was not exceptionally strong in the counties where negroes had settled. Membership in the societies was open to both sexes, but occasionally separate male or female societies were found, as in Green County and in several other places. Cincinnati had a juvenile society and Dayton a female juvenile society. For a decade following the organization of these societies they were constantly active. The State society planned the publication of the "*African Repository and Colonial Register*," a monthly publication dedicated to the cause of colonization. Every auxiliary society was expected to subscribe to this magazine and to aid in enlarging its circulation. Only one number was published. A pamphlet entitled "*A Brief View of the Society for the Colonizing of Free People of Colour*"<sup>26</sup> was published by the State Society and an effort was made to send a colored representative into Africa in order to furnish the free blacks in Ohio with first-hand information.

The most successful method employed for reaching the people was the use of paid agents. Immediately upon its organization the State society sent the Rev. M. M. Henkle to proclaim the cause of colonization, enlist recruits and form auxiliary organizations. Members of the local societies also took an active part in this educational propaganda. Edward Jolly of Cincinnati on his own initiative formed four societies in Hamilton County.<sup>27</sup> Through the efforts of Samuel Robinson nine auxiliaries were

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<sup>24</sup>See attached "Trial List of Ohio Colonization Societies," p. 78.

<sup>25</sup>*Afric. Repos.* VIII, 117.

<sup>26</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc. 1st An. Meeting, 6-9.

<sup>27</sup>*Afric. Repos.* VI, 379.

formed.<sup>28</sup> Often these agents were ministers and were permitted to occupy the pulpit of the village church and to preach on the subject of deportation. When John Orcutt was in Cincinnati in 1860 he spoke before eight congregations and closed his work with a grand rally given in "Christ Church."<sup>29</sup> Following the colonization sermon collections were usually taken up for the purpose of supporting the gospel in foreign fields. The advocates of deportation often indulged in grandiose dreams. The Rev. L. L. Hamline said in an address before the Zanesville and Putnam Society that if one and one-half million dollars could be raised annually, 70,000 negroes could be deported every year and the whole colored population in one hundred years. This only allowed about \$20.00 as the cost of deporting one emigrant; the American Colonization Society spent on an average of \$150.00 for each emigrant. Sometimes these agents in Ohio represented the American Colonization Society, thereby effecting a more harmonious co-operation between the national representatives and those in the auxiliaries. The Ohioans wished to be considered an integral part in the larger plan and all funds not needed for home use were willingly turned over to the parent society. Again the regular appearance of Ohio representatives at the annual meetings of the American Colonization Society at Washington showed the strong inclination to link together these movements. Even auxiliary societies elected a committee to attend these meetings.<sup>30</sup> At other times delegates went on their own initiative. Ohio not only shared in the deliberations of the parent society, but usually contributed to its offices as well. Eleven vice-presidents, four life directors and twenty-four life members were Ohioans. This group included such men as Elisha Whitteley, long President of the Camfield (Trumbull County) auxiliary society, who as Vice-President of the national organization often presided at its meetings. He was besides a member of the Executive Committee from 1859-61 and Chairman of the

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid, VII, 93.

<sup>29</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. 44th An. Rep. 39-40.

<sup>30</sup>The Ohio State Society frequently chose U. S. Congressmen, who were identified with an Ohio organization, as delegates to the parent institution. One of the most prominent of these was Thomas Corwin, who served the Amer. Col. Soc. as Vice-Pres't and was also a member of the Board of Directors. For an interesting speech by him see Amer. Col. Soc., 16th Annual Rept.

Committee on Foreign Relations in 1859. In all of these positions he strove zealously to defend the interests of the Society.<sup>31</sup> Another noted Vice-President was Judge Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, who was a subscriber to the Gerrit Smith Fund.<sup>32</sup> For four life directors Ohio had Solomon Sturges, Henry Stoddard, Charles McMicken and Alexander Guy, who represented her in the national councils. The prominence of these men in Ohio history is well known to all local readers and goes to prove that the wealthy and influential classes of the state were heartily in favor of the whole plan.

The missionary side of colonization would naturally appeal to the religious element and accordingly we find that the churches formed an important factor. Judging by the amount of their contributions the Presbyterians were the most active in the cause of deportation. Their most zealous member was William McLain, a graduate of Miami University, who had served the parent society as agent in Virginia, as Clerk to the Executive Committee and as Treasurer and Financial Secretary. Other noted Presbyterian workers were Alexander Guy, President of the Lane Seminary Auxiliary Society and a heavy contributor to the cause, and Randolph S. Foster, one of the Vice-Presidents of the national organization. The Episcopalians also joined in the movement having an auxiliary society of their own at Kenyon College, where the regular annual contribution to negro colonization was \$100.00. The Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ohio, Charles P. McIlvaine, was an acquaintance and associate of the men who founded the American Colonization Society. During long periods he presided over the Ohio Auxiliary Society and for twenty-eight years served the parent organization as Vice-President.<sup>33</sup> Resolutions were often passed by the churches warmly advocating colonization. The Lutheran Synod which met at Columbus in 1827 adopted resolutions approving the movement.<sup>34</sup> In the same way the Baptist General Conference in reply to a letter from M. M. Henkle, Ohio State agent, resolved "That this Convention highly approve of the object of said Society and that we recommend to our ministers and brethren

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid, 46th Rept., 19, 20.

<sup>32</sup>Amer. Col. Soc, 14th Rept., p. 29.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid. 57th Rept., 6.

<sup>34</sup>Afric. Repos. III, 316.



ren generally to use their influence to advocate its interest."<sup>85</sup> Methodists also followed in the footsteps of their religious brethren. In 1827 the Ohio District Conference of the Methodist Church gave colonization their unqualified approval. And later, when the abolitionists and colonizationists were in controversy, at a conference in Springfield it reiterated these statements. The Methodist churches were open to colonization agents and among their prominent preachers the Rev. Hugh McMillan advocated the cause. Another Methodist minister, Thomas A. Morris, senior bishop of the church, was deeply interested in the work, and for ten years served as Vice-President of the national organization.

The national society realized that Ohio was fertile ground to work and so David Christy, its most energetic and aggressive agent, was sent hither to see what might be accomplished. Mr. Christy's agency in Ohio coincided with a period of greatly increased foreign immigration to the United States, and in this circumstance he saw his opportunity to appeal to the fears of the populace. He insisted that the free blacks could never compete with this class of laborers and cited the decrease of the colored population in the north-eastern section of the nation, where foreigners were most numerous, to support his assertion. Soon he said a like scene would be enacted in Ohio. An appeal was therefore made by both the Ohio and the national societies to purchase a large tract of land on the west coast of Africa to afford free colored labor a place of refuge. In April, 1848, the Cincinnati newspapers pointed out the efficacy of such a purchase in checking the slave trade. This traffic had already been stopped at two points on the coast, namely, at Sierra Leone, the English settlement, and at Liberia, the settlement of the American colonizationists. The colonizationists thought that the hope of rendering a third district immune to the traffic would kindle a desire in the negro to emigrate. These motives appealed to the philanthropic spirit of Charles McMicken, the founder of the University of Cincinnati, who contributed \$5,000.00 to help in effecting such a purchase.<sup>86</sup> McMicken's interest in colonization

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid. III, 315.

<sup>86</sup>{ See prefatory sketch in pub. Will of Chas. McMicken, 4.  
See Shotwell, Hist. of Schools of Cin'ti, 223, for variation in statement of amount contributed.

is further shown by the provision in his will that if he owned any slaves at his death they should be freed and, if they chose, removed to Liberia. The executors were to spend \$100.00 on each emigrant.<sup>37</sup> The fund was enlarged by the donation of Solomon Sturges of Putnam County, who gave \$1,000.00, and by that of Samuel Gurney of London, who gave \$5,000.00. A tract of 8,000,000 acres was purchased under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, including all the region lying between Sierra Leone and Liberia. This had been known as Grand Cape Mount and Gallinas, and following the example of Maryland was christened "Ohio in Africa."<sup>38</sup> Here was a special home for the free blacks from Ohio. Instead, however, of this purchase arousing the blacks and inspiring them to emigrate to Africa nothing of the sort occurred. What it did was to increase the activities of the colonizationists in urging an appropriation by the State. Since the organization of the Ohio State Colonization Society petitions for financial aid had been presented to the General Assembly but had only evoked the introduction of resolutions and the proposal of bills. The objects of colonization had been approved by the Legislature by resolution in 1828 and again in 1832. But the Legislature would never go beyond the passing of resolutions. Bills were killed in committee rooms or acted on favorably by only one house. Numerous petitions came in following the purchase of Grand Cape Mount and Gallinas, praying for favorable legislation on the subject of establishing "Ohio in Africa." Petition of the American Colonization Society by the Ohio Committee of Correspondence<sup>39</sup> to this effect and others were received from the Ohio Methodist Conference, the Ohio Baptist Annual Convention, the New School Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati, the Old School Presbyterian Synod of Ohio and the Baptist Association of Cincinnati. One was signed by 420 citizens of Ohio, another was headed by Thomas J. Biggs and 154 citizens of Cincinnati, while similar petitions were received from citizens of Greene County, Logan County, Butler County and Hamilton County; all praying for appropriations.<sup>40</sup> The petition from Hamilton County asked for \$5,000.00 annually

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<sup>37</sup>Will of McMicken, Art. XXVIII.

<sup>38</sup>Samuel F. Hunt, Address upon Charles McMicken (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Society of Ohio, p 11).

<sup>39</sup>See "Ohio in Africa," p. 93 of this Quarterly.

<sup>40</sup>Ohio Sen. Jour. 1850, p. 1007.

for ten consecutive years to aid the transportation of free blacks to Liberia with their consent. The mass of petitioners were spoken of as "of the highest character for moral and intellectual worth" by the committees reporting on the petitions, but little was done to satisfy their demands. However, a bill was introduced in the House to promote the cause of deportation. The bill passed the House, but failed of passage in the Senate.<sup>41</sup> An amendment requiring equal emigration from every Congressional district was rejected. The Senate would do nothing to further colonization except to go on record asking Congress to withdraw its squadron from the coast of Africa and to appropriate \$150,000.00 annually for African colonization as a more efficient means to suppress the slave trade.<sup>42</sup> And the whole matter terminated by the Legislature limiting its action to a resolution favoring the independence of Liberia.<sup>43</sup> Failing to secure what they wanted from the General Assembly the Ohio Colonizationists next tried the Constitutional Convention then in session at Columbus. The effort here centered on an attempt to incorporate a clause in the new Constitution giving the General Assembly power to appropriate money for African colonization. The absence of such a provision in the old Constitution had proved a great obstacle to the friends of deportation and now they hoped to avert a recurrence of this trouble. But here again the friends of the blacks met with strong opposition. In the debate over this proposal several delegates expressed themselves as willing to pay a tax levied for this purpose, declaring that the colonization movement was on a plane with the Bible and Tract Societies.<sup>44</sup> The key-note of the whole debate was sounded, however, by Mr. Ledbetter of Holmes County, who said, "If we commence sending them off we make room for more to come in; yea, invite them. I am ready to vote to shut the door and then I would be willing to pay my share of taxes to aid in their removal from the states."<sup>45</sup> To the objection that this action on the part of the Convention might lead to a great influx of negroes into the State advocates of the measure so worded their demand for appropriation as to read, "whenever in the opinion of the General

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 1850, 918-9.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 230.

<sup>43</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. 34th Rept., 10-11.

<sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> Ohio Constitutional Debates I, p. 598-9.



Assembly it can be done without causing an emigration of such persons from an adjoining state."<sup>46</sup> But even in this form it was defeated. The only explanation that may be offered for this conduct on the part of the Convention is that most likely it was influenced by the many petitions received against the immigration of colored people into the State.<sup>47</sup>

Although the Constitutional Convention refused to incorporate a clause in the new Constitution giving the Legislature power to appropriate money for African Colonization, about two-thirds of the delegates signed on January 13, 1851, a memorial asking Congress to establish a line of steamships between the United States and Liberia. Such a line, the Memorialists said, "would greatly promote the interests of Liberia, rapidly advance the commerce of this country and Africa and hasten the destruction of the slave trade, and by affording facilities to emigrants in the greater cheapness and rapidity with which it could be conducted, give an impulse to colonization that would tell most favorably upon the interests of both continents."<sup>48</sup> This well illustrates how the Ohioans viewed every endeavor to advance the cause of deportation. Later, when the Stanley bill providing for the appropriation of the fourth installment of the surplus revenue to the several states for colonization purposes was before Congress, the Ohio committee on colonization directed Mr. Christy to use his influence to secure its passage. It would have given Ohio \$33,454.00 annually to build up "Ohio in Africa."<sup>49</sup> How best to promote the passage of this bill was considered by the Ohio Legislature where petitions were received as late as 1861 praying for African colonization. But the measure was defeated in Congress before Ohio took action.

The failure of the Ohio colonizationists to obtain state or national appropriations did not deter them from supporting the movement by their own contributions. These varied from those given by the directors of Insurance Companies to gifts from Young Ladies' Academies.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ohio Constitutional Debates I, p. 598-9.

<sup>47</sup>Hickok, in "The Negro in Ohio," p. 54, states that Daniel Drake, the eminent physician, was one of these petitioners and that he also asked for laws favoring African colonization.

<sup>48</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. 34th Rept., 74.

<sup>49</sup>David Christy, Address to Clergymen of Ohio. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Society of Ohio.)

<sup>50</sup>Afric. Repos. VII, 196, and IX, 160.

The usual method pursued in obtaining funds was by solicitation by the agents of the colonization societies. These men would generally take up a collection following their lectures on the gospel of colonization. Frequently the churches would of their own accord take up contributions and an extra effort was put forth by all religious denominations to swell this sum on the Sunday preceding the 4th of July. Among private individuals the heaviest contributors in the State were Judge Burnet and Charles McMicken.

The total amount annually collected by these means steadily increased until 1830 when over \$3,000.00 was reported. The decline in the amount contributed noticeable in the late thirties and early forties was due to the inroads of the abolitionists and to the panic of 1837. But the decade preceding the Civil War shows an annual contribution of over \$2,500.00. And throughout the history of the whole movement funds were found to be more abundant than emigrants. No emigrants were sent until 1833 when 41 were transported. Since then only sixteen have gone, the last in 1902. This emigrant was Miss Ida M. Sharp of Cincinnati, who became a teacher in the Liberia schools.<sup>51</sup> This will seem strange when we remember how well organized the movement was, how heavy the contributions were and how deep an interest in the subject prevailed in almost every section of the state. Yet this was the case, and when we recollect that the essential purpose of the whole propaganda was to remove the free blacks from the state it is obvious that considering the resources placed at its disposal little was accomplished.

#### OPPOSITION AND DECLINE.

That the project for deporting the free blacks from Ohio accomplished little is clear. But why the colonizationists could not carry this scheme to a successful end remains to be told.

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"{Amer. Col. Soc. 86th Rept., 4, 5.

{Amer. Col. Soc. 54th Rept., 19: An emigrant who went on his own initiative and at his own expense was Edward James Roye, a native of Ohio, who had acquired an education in the High School of Newark, Ohio; a three years' course at the University of Athens, and a course in French at Oberlin College before embarking in 1846 for Liberia. Besides carrying on a very successful mercantile business there, he became Speaker of the Ho. of Reps. in 1849, Chief Justice from 1865 to 1868, and was inaugurated President of the Republic of Liberia in 1870.

The causes of the ultimate and complete failure of the whole project were various and space will not permit of treating of them in detail. For convenience we may group them under three heads: (1) the attitude of the blacks toward colonization; (2) the strife between the abolitionists and the colonizationists with its results; and (3) the effect of the Civil War on the whole movement.

We should expect the blacks to be above all others most deeply interested in such a plan and the position that they took is therefore instructive. Their numbers had grown so rapidly between 1820 and 1850 that they had come to be worthy of consideration. In 1820 the colored population of Ohio was 4,723; in 1830 it was 9,568; in 1840, 17,342; and in 1850, 25,279.<sup>52</sup> In view of this rapid increase of the colored people in Ohio their attitude becomes especially important, since it was taken not by a few isolated and scattered groups but by masses large enough to command respect and capable of expressing their opinions in assemblies and conventions.

Turning to the meetings of the negroes we find that from the very beginning they were opposed to colonization. Even in 1817, soon after the birth of the parent Society at Washington, evidences are to be found throughout the country of the disapproval of the negroes of such a scheme. Wherever they were allowed to assemble they entered their protest against colonization which they considered a scheme of proscription and cruelty.<sup>53</sup> This was noted in the various reports of the colonization societies to the parent society, and in 1827 it received much attention at the meeting of the Ohio State Colonization Society. Here again the same complaint is made against the blacks of their unwillingness to emigrate to Africa. But some attempt is made to explain the reason for this reluctance. The argument offered is that owing to the ignorance of the negroes the many efforts that were made to produce unfavorable impressions concerning the designs of the society aroused their prejudice, so that they objected to transportation to a place of which they knew little and for which they cared less.<sup>54</sup> The colonizationists therefore urged that much of this hostile feeling could be removed if a responsible negro should

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<sup>52</sup>U. S. Census Reports.

<sup>53</sup>Letter of Cornish to Cox. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

<sup>54</sup>Ohio State Col. Soc., Dec. 19, 1827.



be sent to Liberia to acquaint himself with the actual state of affairs there, and to report favorably on his return. With this in view the Ohio organization kept back one-half of its funds to apply to such a purpose.<sup>55</sup> We have no definite information of what steps were actually taken, but we know that one colored man, the Rev. Moses Walker, of Portland in Jefferson County, visited Africa in 1848 and reported favorably to his friends at home of the colony settled there. And he was himself so delighted with the conditions that he revisited it taking with him his family.

Nevertheless all efforts to allay the hostility of the negroes to colonization proved fruitless. At almost every convention of colored people, whether state or county, resolutions were passed opposing the scheme of colonization. These resolutions are couched in terms clearly expressive of the exact position taken by the negro upon this subject. The first record of public announcement of these views is the report of an assemblage of negroes in Cincinnati in 1832 to consider the anti-Christian spirit of colonization. At this meeting resolutions were carried to the effect that every free man of color who should emigrate to Africa or should advocate emigration was to be regarded as an enemy to humanity and a traitor to his brother.<sup>56</sup> The following year at a similar gathering in Trumbull County it was declared that in the opinion of the meeting colonization increased prejudice against their race.<sup>57</sup> Three years later we hear of a meeting of negroes in Cincinnati attended by sixty colored freedmen which did favor emigration; but this was only provisional and the views of those present should not be taken as representative of the masses, because of the small attendance at this convention. At a meeting held at Cleveland in 1846 for the purpose of considering the emigration of blacks to Oregon or California the following resolution was passed: RESOLVED: "That in the present aspect of affairs the conditions of the colored race would not be improved by emigration; that colonization *is* and ought to be *condemned* by the colored race; that the colored colonizationists are as bad as the white colonizationists, and that both ought to be condemned; and that the duty of the colored people is to stay

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 7, 8.

<sup>56</sup>Liberator, Feb. 4, 1832.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., Nov. 23, 1833.

where they are and contend earnestly for their rights, trusting in the power of truth and the God of justice for final victory."<sup>58</sup> This resolution expressed the true feeling of the negro of the time and the views that he continued to hold for many years to come.

Although the negro did not wish to emigrate to Africa or to any other place solely because the colonizationists wished him to do so, he was still desirous to know about these new places. This has been pointed out in mentioning the efforts made by the Ohio State Colonization Society to dispel the class prejudice against their scheme. The members of this Society saw that if the negroes could be educated more could be done with them; and there is reason to believe that the blacks were more than willing to be taught. At a convention of colored freedmen in Ohio held in Cincinnati January 14-17, 1852, the committee on emigration reported in favor of appointing an agent to visit the various parts of the continent, "with a view of determining the most suitable point for the settlement of the colored people and the establishment of an independent nationality."<sup>59</sup> The report was indefinitely postponed, but it goes to show that the expediency of gathering further knowledge was appreciated by many. Two years later the colored people of Butler County drew up similar resolutions in favor of obtaining all the information to be had about Liberia and Africa, "as true enquirers after truth and as men not afraid to investigate every question at issue."<sup>60</sup> About the same time the negroes of Circleville appointed T. J. Merrett, one of their number, a delegate to Liberia to report on the conditions and prospects of an Ohio colony. Mr. Merrett sailed in April, 1853, but death prevented his return.<sup>61</sup> When we take account of these numerous attempts the eagerness of the negroes to learn about these new lands seem remarkable, considering their condition and the attitude their class generally took toward all new projects.

Why then did the negroes so vigorously oppose colonization? They wished to investigate and to learn about Liberia and Africa,

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., May 22, 1846.

<sup>59</sup>Ohio Convention, Jan. 14-17, 1852, Proceedings of.

<sup>60</sup>Lecture of David Christy, 1854. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

<sup>61</sup>Lecture of David Christy, 1853, pp. 57-63. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio.)

but did not wish to go there when favorable information about these places was received. True, what news they got came to them through colonization channels and might therefore have been colored to suit the promoters of the movement. But the negro as a rule was not critical enough to discern such niceties. His hostility to emigration seems to have been based on prejudice and on his desire to stay where he was, provided he could gain certain rights. From the passage in 1804 of the first statute against him requiring him to have a certificate from some court of the United States certifying that he was a freedman the negro had many hardships to encounter. Ohio boasted that the state was free from the curse of slavery, that free hands had built up their state and that they at least were uncontaminated and not guilty of slavery.<sup>62</sup> But if they did not have slavery in their territory they still did much toward debasing the condition of their black neighbor. The law placed him in a condition of civil disability; he was regarded as a "dangerous and useless part of the community";<sup>63</sup> and he lived in a state of disfranchisement. This opinion was held by the whites about the blacks unchanged for many years, for as late as 1857 "colored persons were excluded from all the public institutions of the state for the benefit of the insane, blind, deaf and dumb; all except the penitentiary; nor were they allowed as witnesses in trials or on the jury."<sup>64</sup>

Hopeless as his condition was under the law without privileges or local status, one might expect that he would be more than eager to go where he might have some measure of liberty. But as has been shown, the negroes of Ohio were determined not to go to Liberia and if they were forced to emigrate they preferred some place like Canada where their independence would be secure, yet where they would not be so far removed from their old friends. Nothing did more to harm the colonization movement in this state than this desire among the negroes of Ohio to emigrate to Canada, when they saw that they must go to some place outside of the state. Out of this finally arose the establishment of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada. So characteristic of those days were the methods employed to get

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<sup>62</sup>Speech of Wm. M. Corry at 47th anniversary of the State of Ohio. (Pamphlet in Hist. & Phil. Soc. of Ohio, p. 11.)

<sup>63</sup>Martineau's *Martyr Age*, passim.

<sup>64</sup>Proceedings of State Convention Free Colored Men of Ohio, 21, Jan., 1857.



rid of these negroes and to force them to go to Canada, and so well are the reluctance of the negroes to leave their homes and their reasons for their action brought out in this movement, that it is worth while to advert to the origin of this settlement and the causes that led to its establishment.

In 1829 the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio declared constitutional the law regulating the settlement of colored people in the state. In consequence of this decision the authorities of the City of Cincinnati notified their colored people that they would have to leave in thirty days, or live up to the letter of the law which required that they should severally give bonds to the amount of \$500.00. The blacks assembled and asked for three months delay wherein to make the necessary arrangements. Meantime they petitioned Congress in vain to modify these harsh provisions.<sup>65</sup> And at the same time sent a Committee to Canada to ask the government if they would be received there. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, to the Committee is worth quoting. He said: "Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we do not know men by their color. If you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of His Majesty's subjects." With such encouragement as this the Wilberforce settlement was established. The free blacks remaining in Ohio and in all the principal towns north of the Carolinas passed resolutions against African colonization, asserting,

"That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population of this country; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantage for a season."<sup>66</sup>

Every negro considered that to abandon his brethren in slavery was to exhibit moral cowardice. He believed the colonizationist wished to deport him so that his presence might not inspire his brothers across the river to seek freedom. He was willing to enjoy modified freedom in Ohio if the slave's bosom was filled with a yearning for emancipation, but not to accept the complete freedom in Africa and leave his brother without hope. Another inducement for remaining in Ohio was that he might still agitate

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<sup>65</sup>Afric. Repos. VI, 46.

<sup>66</sup>Harriet Martineau's Martyr Age.

for the repeal of the unfriendly legislation of the State<sup>67</sup> known as the "Black Laws". He endured the laws so long as they existed and by petitions to the General Assembly and the Constitutional Convention of 1850 prayed for their repeal.<sup>68</sup> The negro had rather fight for the removal of political and educational disabilities than emigrate to Liberia. The existence of these discriminating laws was an attempt to drive him to exile. The negroes of Ohio resisted African colonization for a third reason—its cruelty. The charge arose perhaps out of the misfortunes that attended the early expeditions sent over by the parent society. In these a number died in passage and a larger number perished in the infant colony, conditions that have attended all attempts at foreign colonization. Although the colonizationalist insisted that Africa was the home of the negro the latter regarded America as his home. And it may be said that he had been here about as long as the white man. The negroes of the State passed resolutions asserting that Ohio was their native land and that here they would live and fight for their rights. Finally they objected to deportation as a system which deepened the subsisting prejudice against them.<sup>69</sup>

Herein lay the essence of the matter. The negro wished to stay where he was and so opposed any propaganda that contemplated removing him. With such strong feelings upon the subject little could be done with him. And since he was the chief factor in this philanthropic project his hostility was bound to react to the detriment of the society. And this explains in some measure why the colonization movement which started out in Ohio so auspiciously was doomed in the end to failure.

The attitude of the negro was only one cause of the decline of the agitation for colonization. There was another which contributed almost as much to the ultimate failure of this project. This was the interest aroused by the abolitionists in favor of their proposal for the immediate emancipation of the negro.<sup>70</sup>

The charge that the abolitionist brought against the colonizationist was three-fold. First, they declared that the coloniza-

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<sup>67</sup>Proceedings of Convention of Colored Freemen of Ohio held in Cincinnati, Jan. 14-17, 1852.

<sup>68</sup>State Convention of Colored Men held in Columbus, 15-18, Jan., 1851.

<sup>69</sup>Liberator, Nov. 23, 1832.

<sup>70</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. 29th Rept., 10.

tionist was hostile to the cause of emancipation and was striving to uphold the slaveholder's interest. Instead of the advocate of deportation standing for gradual manumission they declared that his ultimate design was to make slavery more secure. This would result from the emigration of the free blacks which would remove every inducement for the slaves to desire freedom. Furthermore, the extreme anti-slavery leaders argued that colonization was founded on the proposition that the two races must be separated when both enjoyed liberty, and contended that this assumption rested wholly on prejudice.<sup>71</sup> They said that this prejudice was manifested in the hostile Black Laws which colonizationists made no effort to repeal, but wished to remain in operation so as to make the free negro uncomfortable; hoping that his dissatisfaction would drive him to emigrate to Liberia.

But the third argument of the abolitionists was the strongest—at least so they asserted. This pointed to an inconsistency in the program of the colonizationists, namely, that a vicious and degraded negro might be a fit and successful missionary among his African brethren. In Ohio he could neither vote nor enjoy educational privileges. He was ignorant and criminal, contributing to the jails and penitentiaries more than ten times as many inmates as the whites, but in Africa he was to convert the native, stop the slave trade, establish schools and erect a responsible government. Such broad assertions as these naturally brought the advocates of colonization and those of abolition into conflict and the result of the struggle on the whole was to weaken the cause of both before the general public as well as in the eye of the black man. However, notwithstanding the bold assertions of the abolitionists in opposition to colonization a large percentage of the population of the State preferred colonization to abolition.

But the drastic measures that were employed by the abolitionists against the colonizationists weakened the cause of the latter by ranging the two forces on opposite sides. Strife of colonizationist versus abolitionist was especially pronounced during the thirties and forties. This period illustrates the methods employed on both sides. The American Anti-slavery Society had been organized in Philadelphia in December 1833; in April 1835 the Ohio branch was formed in Putnam County by more than one hundred delegates. In less than one year there were

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<sup>71</sup>Rept. 3d Anniversary of Ohio Anti-Slavery Soc., Note 36-7.



more than one hundred and twenty minor societies, and the combined membership included from 10,000 to 12,000 persons.<sup>72</sup> Their object was to prevent the spread of slavery into Ohio and to induce great numbers who owned slaves in the states south of us at once to set them free. The people of Ohio were attracted by this new panacea for their ills and by 1837 there were 213 auxiliary societies with a membership of 17,253 in Ohio alone.<sup>73</sup>

It is not surprising therefore that the convinced colonizationist was alarmed by the growth of this new society and determined to do his utmost to strangle it. The activities of such men as Lundy and Birney, both at one time colonizationists, had wrought miracles in changing the popular mind, and this had to be checked. Some of the blacks had from the start opposed this plan as they had done the former, even going so far as to pass resolutions against abolition in which they declared that it was their belief that the publication of such papers as the "Philanthropist" and of other abolition papers and tracts had an "injurious and prejudicial effect upon the interest and well-being of the colored population"; and that they considered the future publication of such papers as an attempt "to excite against them the angry feelings and the personal violence of the anti-abolitionist".<sup>74</sup> It was conceivable that one individual might favor both colonization and abolition, but against abolition as opposed to colonization the whites as well as the blacks entered their protest.<sup>75</sup> Lectures were given by prominent leaders of the state to demonstrate the futility of interfering with the institution of slavery.<sup>76</sup> So-called "abhorrence meetings" were called to exhibit the abhorrence of the citizens of the state for the doctrine of abolition; and everything was done to arouse the people against the disciples in this new field. An account of one of these "abhorrence meetings" will give some idea of the tone taken and of the kind of men who fought in the ranks of colonization. A meeting was called at the instigation of Robert T. Lytle and was held March 9,

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<sup>72</sup>Proceedings of Liberty of Press-Cin., 1836.

<sup>73</sup>Caleb Atwater, Hist. of Ohio, 323-4.

<sup>74</sup>Afric. Repos. Vol. XII, No. 146.

<sup>75</sup>Dr. Lyman Beecher (then of Lane Seminary, Cincinnati) wrote Arthur Tappan: "I am not apprised of the ground of controversy between the colonizationists and the abolitionists. I am myself both, without perceiving in myself an inconsistency." Sidney Strong in Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, IV, 9-10.

<sup>76</sup>Cincinnati Gazette, Jan. 12, 1839.

1839 in the Court House at Cincinnati. David Griffin presided and General Lytle made the principal address of the evening. He offered resolutions to the effect that the colonization plan was the "only sure and safe and feasible project to avoid the ills of slavery, and that the abolitionists were pursuing a course calculated to prevent all amelioration of the colored race".<sup>77</sup> At another meeting held in the Market House of Cincinnati in July 1836 a committee was appointed to await on Birney to "remonstrate with him and his associates upon the dangerous tendency of the course they were pursuing, to communicate to them the actual tone of the public feeling in the state, and to request them by every motive of patriotism and philanthropy to desist from the publication of their paper; and to warn them that if they persisted they (the colonizationists) would not be held responsible for the consequences". This committee was composed of such noteworthy men as Judge Jacob Burnet, Josiah Lawrence, Robert Buchanan, Nicholas Longworth, Thomas W. Bakewell and William Greene.<sup>78</sup> At the same time the meeting went on record as approving the course of the Colonization Society and as declaring it the only method of getting clear of the evils of slavery.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the fact that the audiences attending the Colonization lectures were much larger than at those given on abolition indicates that the cause of immediate emancipation had not so many supporters in this region as the people of the South supposed. The fact is that in Cincinnati the disciples of Garrison were comparatively few. But they were very noisy,<sup>80</sup> and this often led to the use of more vigorous methods than the mere passing of resolutions. Such occurrences contributed to degrade the colonization cause before the citizens of the state. When abolitionist preachers frequently came home from lecturing with their horse's mane and tail shaved—"a colonizationist reply to an abolition lecture"<sup>81</sup>—both movements tended to assume a half ludicrous, half lawless aspect and people began to lose confidence in them. If these two groups could not agree how to alleviate the condition of the black man, how could either black or white man be expected to take them seriously or to do any-

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<sup>77</sup>C. T. Greve, *Hist. of Cincinnati*, I, 749-750.

<sup>78</sup>Narrative of the late Proceeding of the Press.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>80</sup>*Afric. Repos.* Vol. IX, No. 102.

<sup>81</sup>Howe's *Hist. Coll. of Ohio*, I, 338.

thing to help along the cause! So long as the aim of the Colonization Society had been to deport the negro people were willing to listen to it, but when the friends of colonization and abolition began to quarrel and began to draw the subject into politics<sup>82</sup> the philanthropic and humanitarian aspects of the whole affair seemed to be lost; and with them the cause of colonization.

There was, however, one more cause that was to work the downfall of this movement. This was the Civil War. As a result of this slavery was abolished, the negro was made a citizen and given a ballot in America. Rights which the colonizationists hoped to confer on the negro in Africa could now be enjoyed in America. Why then should he go to Africa? The repeal of the Black Laws in Ohio (the gradual process covering the period from 1849-87) made his home State his Utopia. Here he would stay, close to his friends and brethren until he should be called to his last rest.

Thus ended a movement which had been launched under the most promising auspices. It had enlisted in its support men of the highest character and ability and had commanded a large and respected following. Its purpose had been praiseworthy but impracticable; the opposition was too powerful to be overcome. If the promoters of colonization could have kept the question out of politics as they had wished to do their importance as a factor in the slavery question would have been larger; but relegated to a subordinate place in the controversy their effect was negligible.

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<sup>82</sup>Amer. Col. Soc. Rept. 28, p. 23.



# A TRIAL LIST OF SOCIETIES DURING THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE MOVEMENT.

(Compiled from various sources: African Repository, Exposition, etc.,  
Reports from Amer. Coloniz. Soc'y.)

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|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Adams County                                          | 48. Miami                         |
| 2. Ashtabula County                                      | 49. Miami County                  |
| 3. Athens (Athens County)                                | 50. Miami University              |
| 4. Bainbridge                                            | 51. ——— (Montgomery County)       |
| 5. Batavia                                               | 52. Mt. Healthy                   |
| 6. Belbrook                                              | 53. Mount Vernon                  |
| 7. Bellefontaine                                         | 54. Muskingum County              |
| 8. Belmont                                               | 55. Muskingum Young Men           |
| 9. Bethel                                                | 56. Newark                        |
| 10. Brown County.                                        | 57. New Burlington                |
| 11. Brownstown                                           | 58. New Carlisle                  |
| 12. Bushwood                                             | 59. New Lancaster                 |
| 13. Cambridge                                            | 60. New Richmond                  |
| 14. Canfield                                             | 61. Ohio State                    |
| 15. Canfield Congregational                              | 62. Old Town                      |
| 16. Canton (Stark County)                                | 63. Oxford                        |
| 17. Chillicothe                                          | 64. Perry County                  |
| 18. ——— (Champaign County)                               | 65. Piqua                         |
| 19. Cincinnati                                           | 66. Portage County                |
| 20. Cincinnati Juvenile                                  | 67. Preble County                 |
| 21. Circleville                                          | 68. Reading                       |
| 22. Clarke County                                        | 69. Ripley                        |
| 23. Clermont County                                      | 70. Ross County Female            |
| 24. Cleveland                                            | 71. Rutland Female                |
| 25. Columbiana (Clinton County)                          | 72. Rutland Male                  |
| 26. Cumberlana                                           | 73. Saloni                        |
| 27. Dayton                                               | 74. St. Clairsville               |
| 28. Dayton Female Juvenile                               | 75. Senecaville (Guernsey County) |
| 29. Fallcreek                                            | 76. Sharon                        |
| 30. Granville                                            | 77. Somerset                      |
| 31. Green County { <sup>1</sup> Male <sup>2</sup> Female | 78. Springfield (Clarke County)   |
| 32. Greenfield                                           | 79. Springfield Female            |
| 33. Hamilton                                             | 80. Starke County                 |
| 34. Hamilton & Rossville                                 | 81. Steubenville                  |
| 35. Harrison County.                                     | 82. Talmadge                      |
| 36. Hartford                                             | 83. Troy (Miami County)           |
| 37. Highland County                                      | 84. Trumbull County               |
| 38. Hillsborough                                         | 85. Urbana                        |
| 39. Hudson.                                              | 86. Wadsworth                     |
| 40. Israel Township                                      | 87. Warren County                 |
| 41. Kenyon College                                       | 88. Warren Female                 |
| 42. Lancaster                                            | 89. Washington County             |
| 43. Lane Seminary                                        | 90. Waynesville                   |
| 44. Lebanon                                              | 91. Wilmington                    |
| 45. Licking County                                       | 92. Wooster                       |
| 46. McConnellsville                                      | 93. Xenia                         |
| 47. McCormick's Settlement                               | 94. Xenia Female                  |
|                                                          | 95. Xenia Juvenile                |
|                                                          | 96. Zanesville.                   |

A BRIEF  
EXPOSITION  
OF THE VIEWS OF THE  
SOCIETY FOR THE COLONIZATION  
OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR,  
IN AFRICA;

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
BOARD OF MANAGERS  
OF THE  
OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

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ADDRESSED  
TO THE CITIZENS  
OF OHIO

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COLUMBUS:  
PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE OHIO MONITOR,  
BY DAVID SMITH  
1827





## COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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At a time when a general effort is making throughout the nation, in behalf of the American Colonization Society, and when a universal appeal is made to the benevolence of community for its support, we owe it to the public, on whose charity our institution, for the present, entirely depends for aid; and especially in the western country, where the operations and objects of the Society are very imperfectly understood, to give a brief sketch of its history, character and claims.

"The *design* of this Society is general—the benefit of the *whole* African race. Its plan of *operation* is specific—the *establishment on the coast of Africa, of a Colony of free people of colour, from America.*"

That the condition of this unhappy race is such as to claim our *sympathies*, and demand our *efforts* for their relief, is very evident. And this is true of them, whether considered as *actual slaves*, or as *nominally free*, in this country; or as the deluded and ignorant promoters of the *Slave Trade*, or as its *miserable and hopeless victims*, in Africa.

The scheme of the American Colonization Society was devised and adopted by liberal and intelligent men of the *South*, and the *North*, as the plan, and the only one, which could unite these two great divisions of our country, in any efforts for the removal, or even the mitigation, of the greatest evil, and heaviest curse, which afflicts our land.

"There is," says the Christian Spectator, "at present (1824) within the limits of the United States, a coloured population of one million seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand. The character and circumstances of this class of the community fall, to some extent, under the personal observation of every man. Who is there who does not know something of the condition of the blacks in the northern and middle states. They may be seen in our cities, and larger towns, wandering like foreigners and outcasts, in the land that gave them birth. They may be seen in our penitentiaries and jails, and poor-houses. They may be

found inhabiting the abodes of poverty, and the haunts of vice. But if we look farther in the society of the honest and respectable—if we visit the schools in which it is our boast that the meanest citizen can enjoy the benefits of instruction—we might also add, if we visit the sanctuaries which are open for all to worship, and to hear the word of God, we shall not find them there. The *Soodra* is not further separated from the *Bramin*, in regard to all his privileges, civil, intellectual and moral, than the negro is from the white man, by the prejudices which result from the difference made between them by the God of nature. A barrier more difficult to be surmounted than the institution of the *Caste*, cuts off, and while the present state of society continues, must always cut off the negro from all that is valuable in citizenship. In his infancy, he finds himself, he knows not why, the scorn of his playmates, from the first moment that their fingers can be pointed at him in derision. In youth, he has no incentive to prepare for an active and honorable manhood. No visions of usefulness or respectability, animate his prospects. In mature years he has little motive to industry or to any honourable exertion. He is always degraded in the estimation of the community, and the deep sense of that degradation enters into his soul, and makes him degraded indeed. We know that there are individuals who, in spite of all these obstacles to moral and social improvement, have acquired a character of respectability and piety. But instances like these, occasioned by the peculiar circumstances or powers of the individuals, cannot be brought to disprove the general assertion, which we make without fear of contradiction, that the blacks are degraded without any proper means of improvement, or any sufficient incentive to exertion; that they present the strange anomaly of a large part of the nation that loves to call itself the freest and happiest, and most enlightened nation on the globe, separated by obstacles which they did not create, and which they cannot surmount, from all institutions and privileges, to which the other portions of the community owe their superiority."

In Greece and Rome, (says Col. Smith of Virginia,) emancipated slaves become useful citizens, because nature had branded them with no characteristic difference of complexion. But can the Ethiopian change his skin?

A manumitted slave remains a negro still, and must ever

continue in a state of political bondage; and it is obvious that he who is deprived of the inherent rights of a citizen can never become a loyal subject.

Perhaps no argument can better prove the degraded character of the free black population of our country, or more fully show the necessity of forming them into a separate community in a country of their own, than facts which are stated in the first report of the Prison Discipline Society.

"The first cause," says the report, "existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime, is the degraded character of the coloured population. The facts which are gathered from the Penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are coloured, even in those states where the coloured is small, show most strikingly the connexion between ignorance and vice."

In Massachusetts less than a *seventieth* part of the population are coloured. But of the *convicts*, in the State Prison, nearly *one-sixth* part are persons of colour!

In Connecticut, the *free blacks* form but a *thirty-fourth* part of the population. But they form a full *third-part* of the miserable tenents of the State Prison!

In New York only a *thirty-fifth* part of the population is coloured, and about *one-fourth* of all the convicts are blacks!

In Vermont, the coloured population is very small, and consequently their disadvantages are fewer than where they are found in a greater proportion; yet, even there, *one-nineteenth* part of their whole number have been furnished for the Penitentiary!

This proportion will appear the more alarming, if we apply it to our own population. Suppose a *nineteenth* part of all the inhabitants of Ohio were *convicts*, we should have in our Penitentiary nearly *fifty-thousand* souls!

In New Jersey one *thirteenth* part of the population is coloured, and the people of colour constitute *one-third* part of the convicts.

In Pennsylvania one *thirty-fourth* part of the population is coloured, and more than *one-third* of the convicts are of that class.

And in our own state of Ohio, where the blacks have been supposed to be in a quite happy condition, even here, where only about the *\*twelfth* part of our population is coloured, about a

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\*"Should be *one hundred and twenty-fourth*."



*tenth* part of the convicts in the State Prison are persons of colour.

In New York, with a coloured population of 39,000, their annual expenses for coloured convicts have been about *four thousand dollars*.

In Massachusetts, with a black population of 7000, their annual expenses for convicts amount to about \$1,800.

In Connecticut, their annual Penitentiary expenses are about \$2,500 for coloured convicts, while the whole number of this class of persons in the state is less than 8,000.

The whole amount of *taxes* paid annually, by those three states on the *vices* of the *blacks*, would, at the present rates, transport to the land of their fathers, to country and home of their own, *four hundred and twenty* of those wretched beings, where they might enjoy the blessings of freemen.

But there is another still more important characteristic of the condition of our coloured population, in comparison with which every other circumstance dwindles into insignificance, and from which all that we have already said is only a necessary consequence. We mean Slavery.

That Slavery is an evil no one can deny. All must desire to cure the disease. If the evil be of fearful magnitude now, what will it be fifty years hence? And how much would the danger be aggravated by letting loose a horde of emancipated outlaws in the heart of our country? The mischief then, can only be averted by providing a Colonial settlement; for, in that case, as soon as slaves shall be emancipated, they will become proper subjects of colonization. By thus gradually removing this class of our population, we should not only be liberated from the apprehension of a servile war, at which humanity shudders, but would moreover greatly improve the moral worth of the community.

In this state (Ohio) we are supposed by many not to be at all interested in the prosperity of the Colonization cause; because Slavery is here prohibited by our Constitution and Laws. But the enlightened and liberal will recollect that we were as deeply concerned in the introduction of Slavery into this country, as those who are now the unfortunate holders of slaves—in short, that it was during our colonial existence, without our consent, and in disregard of our oft repeated remonstrances, that the mother country forced upon us this dreadful curse. But though

we were all originally innocent of this crime, we all, in whatever part of the Union, become guilty when we refuse to aid, according to our ability, in its removal. And there are many *here*, in Ohio, who notwithstanding their terrible denunciations against slave-holders, are living on the *price of blood*. And it is equally true that thousands who are the holders of slaves, and who have inherited them from their fathers, feel them an impoverishing inheritance and a curse. But what can they do? If they look around them, they find the condition of *free* blacks no better among them than that of the slaves. They find a much greater proportion of them in state prisons, in jails, and on pauper-lists than they do of slaves. Shall they turn them loose on community, regardless of consequences? Let this become universal, and let more than *two millions* of persons be turned out on society without any of the *motives* and *privileges* of freemen, or any of the *restraints* of slavery, and we think that all will admit that our condition and theirs would be made much more wretched by the change. Notwithstanding these considerations, such is the extent of liberal principle, and such the feelings of humanity for the unhappy slave, that hundreds of them are manumitted in slave-holding states every year. This can only be done by sending the liberated slave out of the state, and thus it is done at the expense of *our* safety and happiness in this and other free states. These miserable beings, with all the ignorance and degraded habits of thinking and acting which pertain to slavery, are *flooded* upon us in Ohio and Indiana, in yearly accumulating multitudes, to live among us without any of either the qualifications or privileges of citizens or freemen. The present state of things continuing but a few years, and what by emigration and what by natural increase, we shall have a black population equal to the number of whites. And then, though hundreds of us have fled to Ohio as the asylum of freedom; who will desire her pleasant plains and valleys as a residence? Who would not then prefer a residence in a slave-holding state?

And in the fearful event of a *servile war*, it would not be in the slave-holding states, and among slaves that those schemes of blood and ruin would be laid and ripened into maturity, but here, where they enjoy enough of freedom to feel their chains and to encourage them in an effort to break them off, and are not under the watchful restraints of a master.

In all these views we should regard the black population among us as a great national evil, moral, political, and social; which extends to all parts of our Union, and which tends to the destruction of our happiness and theirs, and which all should labor to remove.

But what can be done to remove the evil, or even to mitigate its ravages? It is now very generally agreed that the only plan which affords any hope of relief on this gloomy subject, either to us or to the degraded blacks, is that of Colonization.

But to the establishment of a Colony in our own country there are insuperable objections; and in the way of colonization in any of the West India Islands, it is believed that there are difficulties which can never be fully overcome. Hence the scheme of colonizing the blacks in Africa, the land of their fathers, is looked upon as the last hope of humanity.

This attempt at colonizing the coloured population of our country, has been made by the American Colonization Society, on the \*North-west coast of Africa; and has been attended with unexampled success. Though the society has been obliged to depend upon the benevolence of individuals alone for support—and numerous difficulties have stood in their way, yet they have established a colony of coloured persons from our country in the land of their fathers. The territory acquired by the society is sufficiently large to subsist many thousand souls. The soil is exceedingly fertile; producing in great abundance all the product of tropical countries; such as rice, coffee, sugar-cane, oranges, limes, corn, pine apples, indigo, camwood, barwood, pepper, ginger, tamarinds, cinnamon, cardamum, nutmegs, ivory, gold, &c. &c. The colonists have made extensive and valuable improvements—have built towns, improved farms, and have made themselves entirely comfortable. Their commerce is already valuable, and rapidly improving. They have erected churches, and have established the worship of the Christian's God in a pagan land. Schools are established and are prosperous. And so very different is their condition from what it was here, that the Colonial Agent says "should the current of emigration cease to throw upon us the little *ignorants* from America, there would not be known in the Colony the phenomenon of a child of five or six years old, unable to read." Many of the children of the

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\*"Should be *South-west*."



principal natives—kings and head men are now receiving the advantages of education in our schools, at Liberia. And the colony promises fair to extend science, civilization and religion into the dark interior of Africa.

The colonists have extended their jurisdiction over 120 miles of coast, and from it have banished the slave trade.

The climate, too, is found to be friendly to the health of our blacks. And though considerable sickness has been experienced by some of the colonists, on their arrival in Africa, yet the want of suitable habitations and other conveniences rather than the climate are believed to be the causes of the greater part of the sickness that has occurred. But were this not the case, we believe that the mortality among the settlers has been less than in most attempts that have been made in our country to form new settlements.

It is not, however, expected that this Society will be able, by its own efforts, to relieve the wretchedness of our black population, or remove the cause which threatens our own ruin; yet very much may be done by the united benevolence of the friends of humanity in our country. Already Societies have been formed from *Georgia* to *Maine*; and they almost daily spring into active existence in all parts of our country.—But it is to the energies and resources of the nation that we look for the glorious consummation of that work of benevolence, in which we only aspire to the honor of acting as *pioneers*. Already have the legislatures of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and other states, solicited for our cause the patronage and support of the General Government; and Maryland has given from her State Treasury *one thousand dollars*, per annum, to aid our enterprise. And it is confidently expected that the Congress of the U[nited] States will, at no distant period, adopt our cause as the cause of the nation.

But while we wait for the co-operation of the General or State Governments we, should not wait in idleness; for this is a canker that is growing while we sleep, and when we wake, and demands our immediate and vigorous exertions. Societies should be formed to co-operate with the parent Society of the United States, in all proper measures to promote our common object. By this means we will be better enabled to diffuse information on this subject; and just in proportion as the public mind shall

become informed, in the same proportion will aid and favour be given to our cause.—And let but the general voice of community call for the measure, and in a government like ours, legislative aid will not, cannot be withheld. Besides this, the contributions of societies may enable hundreds of our unfortunate blacks to emigrate to a country and home of their own. And by thus becoming organized, we will be prepared more extensively and efficiently to memorialize the National and State Legislatures.

In Ohio, it is true, this subject is comparatively new and unknown; but already something has been done, which affords an earnest of future success. A State Colonization Society has been formed for Ohio, the object of which is to aid the benevolent designs of the parent institution of the U[nited] States. The funds of the State Society, agreeably to its Constitution, are to be employed in aiding the coloured people of Ohio to emigrate to our Colony, and what is not thus applied is to be given to the Treasury of the parent Society. The names of the officers will be found at the close of this sketch. All these officers render their services without any compensation whatever, as do all the officers of all our Societies, except those agents who devote their whole time to the cause; and they are allowed a compensation only from the proceeds of their own labor.

Besides the State Society there are in Ohio about *thirty* Colonization Societies, nearly all of which are auxiliary to the Society of the State. These unite their funds in the Treasury of the State Society, and their appropriation is made by the Board of Managers of the Society.

Each auxiliary Society will be represented by a delegate at the annual meeting of the State Society. And all the proceedings of the Society will be made public, so that full information will be within the reach of every one, as to the application of the funds.

## APPENDIX

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### OFFICERS OF THE OHIO STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

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#### PRESIDENT

HON. JEREMIAH MORROW.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS

Abr'm Shepard, Esq., Speaker of the Senate,  
Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D., Pres't Miami University,  
Rev. James Hoge, of Franklin county,  
Rev. D. Purviance, of Preble county,  
Hon. Wm. M'Lean, of Miami county,  
Jos. S. Benham, Esq., of Hamilton county,  
Rev. R. G. Wilson, D. D., Pres't Ohio University,  
David Higgins, Esq., of Butler county,  
Wm. R. Putnam, Esq., of Washington county,  
Rev. W. M. Millin, of Harrison county.

#### RECORDING SECRETARY

David W. Deshler, Esq.

#### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Nathaniel M'Lean, Esq.

#### TREASURER

Lemuel Reynolds, Esq.

#### MANAGERS

Rev. James M'Aboy, Hon. David Smith, Otis Crosby, esq., Rev. Charles Henkle, John Cunning, esq., Gen. John Warner, Hon. Orris Parish, Doct. Samuel Persons, Doct. L. Goodale, Gen. Jos. Foos, Thomas Johnson, esq., and Rev. Jacob Young.

HON. JOHN DAVENPORT, Delegate,

To represent this Society at the meeting of the parent Society at Washington City.

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[Then follows an incomplete list of auxiliary Societies; Instructions to the Board of Managers; By-Laws; and the Constitution of the Ohio State Colonization Society.]





## OHIO IN AFRICA.

MEMORIAL TO THE HONORABLE, THE SENATE, AND HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF OHIO.





## OHIO IN AFRICA.

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### MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.

The undersigned, members of the Ohio Committee of Correspondence of the American Colonization Society, respectfully ask leave to represent:

That during the last session of the Legislature of Ohio, memorials were presented, asking for pecuniary aid, from the State, to pay the expense of the emigration of her colored people, who might determine to remove, to Liberia. These memorials were signed by a respectable number of the citizens of the State, and nearly unanimously by the clergymen who had been in attendance, during the preceding year, upon the Conferences, Synods, and Conventions of several of the largest religious denominations in the State. Upon this expression of the public will being presented to the Legislature, a Bill was passed by the lower House, making an appropriation for the object proposed; but it was postponed by the Senate, among its unfinished business, and we have, in consequence, been left without adequate funds to execute our plans. We have, therefore, been driven to the necessity of renewing our application for aid; and in doing this we respectfully ask your attention to the consideration of the history of events which have transpired, in connection with our operations, during the two last years.

I. In the month of May, 1850, President Roberts, of Liberia, announced the purchase of a large tract of land, on the coast of Africa, which, by the terms of the treaties made with the kings and chiefs, was immediately annexed to that Republic. The funds to make this purchase were supplied by the following gentlemen, viz:

Charles M'Micken, Esq., of Cincinnati.....	\$5,000
Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Putnam, Ohio.....	1,000
Samuel Gurney, Esq., of London.....	5,000

A legacy was also left for this object, the amount of which we have not yet learned.

The scheme of purchasing additional territory in Africa, beyond the limits of Liberia, was first projected in this State, early in 1848, with the view of forming a colony of colored people from Ohio, at some point most advantageous to the settlers, and where they might most effectually aid in checking and suppressing the slave trade. The necessary funds to pay for such a tract, were offered by Mr. McMicken, and the Agent for Ohio was authorized by him to adopt the necessary measures for carrying out the design. The territory northwest of Liberia, including the Gallinas, being the nearest point, on the coast, to Brazil, was known to be the most active seat of the traffic in slaves. Attention was, therefore, directed to it, by Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary of the Colonization Society, as most suitable for the purpose had in view. The whole space northwest from the line of Liberia to Sierra Leone, includes about 200 miles of coast. When President Roberts visited England, in the autumn of 1848, Mr. Gurney pledged \$5,000, on condition that this entire space should be bought, so as to leave no loop-hole, on all that coast, for the entrance of slave-trading vessels. On the return of the President to Liberia, he found the chiefs indisposed to sell, and demanding exorbitant prices for their lands. This state of feeling was engendered by their being under the influence of the slave traders, and from their unwillingness to give up the traffic in slaves. But the object to be accomplished was so important that it was resolved, at whatever cost, to effect the purchase.

The President also found, on his return from Europe, that at New Cesters, a district East of Monrovia, which had been purchased on the eve of his leaving home, the slave traders had determined to remain, and had armed the natives to aid them in resisting the authorities of Liberia. The honor of the government, and the cause of humanity, both demanded prompt action, and he immediately proceeded to raise sufficient troops to dislodge them. By an arrangement made with the governments of England and France, their naval vessels on that coast were placed at his disposal, and he had all necessary facilities afforded for the transportation of the troops. They set sail on March 6th, 1849, and succeeded, after a short and severe conflict, in dispers-

ing the native army, releasing the captive slaves, and breaking up the traffic in that district.

About the middle of February, 1849, the British squadron, in obedience to orders, proceeded to the district northwest of Liberia, to break up the establishments at Gallinas, and other points, up as far as the line of Sierra Leone. The commanders succeeded in destroying the barracoons, and in releasing many hundred slaves collected for exportation; and then blockaded all the trading points, on that part of the coast, to prevent the return of the slave-trading vessels. The supplies of necessities being thus cut off from the population, the chiefs were forced to come to terms and sell their lands to Liberia. But this blockade had to be continued about fifteen months before the purchase could be effected, and the expense to England could not have been much short of \$200,000.

The funds pledged by Messrs. McMicken and Gurney, being on condition that the purchase should first be made, were paid as soon as that fact was announced. The donation of Mr. Sturges was made at an earlier day, and was unconditional.

By this purchase, not only has the slave trade been broken up in the region between Sierra Leone and Liberia, but the laws of that Republic, being extended over it, have emancipated, probably, near 70,000 slaves, formerly held as the property of the headmen.

Too much praise can not be awarded to Great Britain, for the profuse liberality manifested in the accomplishment of this great work. The destruction of the slave trade in this "its darkest den," must exert an influence over the tribes far into the interior of Africa. Those heretofore constantly warring upon each other, to secure slaves to sell at the coast, deprived of their market, will lose this principal stimulus to the perpetuation of their savage barbarities, and become more accessible to the influence of the messengers of peace. Indeed, these effects seem to have been very fully produced, during the period of the British blockade, in the region lying in the rear of the purchased territory. This is evident from the fact, that when the Rev. Mr. Raymond reached Kaw-Mendi, in charge of the "Amistad Africans," about ten years ago, he found wars prevailing so extensively, everywhere among the surrounding tribes, that he could not reach the Mendi country, to which these people had belonged, and was



forced to settle at Kaw-Mendi. We learn, from the published report of Rev. George Thompson, for two years past at the head of that station, that, for more than a year after his arrival, these wars continued with unabated cruelty; and that, while they prevailed, whole towns had been depopulated and multitudes driven to the coast and sold to the slave traders. Mr. Thompson, like his predecessors, had been greatly hindered, by these wars, in his effort to instruct and benefit the people. But the establishment of the blockade, in February, 1849, prevented the export of any more slaves, and of course destroyed the market. This would soon tell upon the interior settlements. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1850, about thirteen months from the commencement of the blockade, we find that Mr. Thompson, after having settled the wars among the tribes around him, set out upon a mission of peace, a distance into the interior of 300 miles by water; and that he was everywhere eminently successful in putting an end to the sanguinary conflicts which had so long, and so frequently, brought desolation and death upon many generations of men.

The letter of Mr. Thompson, stating his success in making peace, is dated on the 17th May, 1850, far up the Big Boom river. On the same day, President Roberts wrote from Monrovia, announcing that he had succeeded in the purchase of Gallinas and the other tracts up as far as Shebar, the British line; and that by these purchases the natives were forever bound not to engage in the slave trade, and the Liberians to send commissioners to settle the wars among the tribes of that region. In this object, recent letters state, that the commissioners have been successful, except with one body of refugees from the barracoons, who refused to be reconciled to their old captors. The President, however, is not discouraged at this event, but expects to find them willing to make peace, when they learn that the laws of Liberia place them on an equality with all other classes around them.

The results of the blockade, and of the purchase of this territory, thus far, it will be seen, have been of the most gratifying character.

But there is still danger, unless a few hundred families are settled at the several trading points, where vessels can approach the coast, that the Liberians will have trouble in preventing the occurrence of dissensions among the native tribes, and the occa-

sional shipment of slaves. This fear is greatly strengthened by recent intelligence from Liberia: President Roberts writes, that since the blockading squadron has been withdrawn, a slave trader has made an unsuccessful attempt to renew the traffic with the chiefs at Gallinas. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that a speedy colonization of this territory be made. About one-half of the country purchased, it is expected, will be set apart for the emigrants from Ohio, on the plan of Mr. McMicken, and constitute one of the counties of the republic of Liberia, to be called *Ohio*. The settlement of a colony at Gallinas, it will be seen, is indispensable to prevent a return of the slave traders. As our emigrants are expected to settle at Gallinas, the responsibility of preventing a renewal of the slave trade, in that region, devolves upon Ohio; and as sufficient funds to accomplish this work cannot be obtained from individual contributions, our appeal must be to you, to put us in possession of the means of hastening the emigration as much as possible.

II. There are some colored persons in Ohio, who have determined to leave for Liberia, in the vessel to sail from New Orleans, on the 20th inst. Others are preparing to follow, in the course of the year, if the funds can be obtained to meet their expenses; and many more are investigating the subject, and will soon decide upon the course they will pursue. Their decision will be greatly influenced by the arrangements made to secure the comfortable condition of the emigrants after reaching Africa. It is the intention of all who are preparing to emigrate, to settle upon the territory secured by Mr. McMicken, and to build up an *Ohio* for themselves. Those who are leaving at present, are well educated and enterprising young men. It is necessary, in commencing our colony, that sufficient funds should be placed in the hands of the American Colonization Society to enable us, through President Roberts and our *pioneers*, to make all necessary arrangements for the comfortable settlement of our future emigrants. And, in reference to this point, we would remark, that the friends of colonization, profiting by past experience, are contemplating the erection of houses and planting of crops, in Liberia, for the use of new emigrants, in advance of their arrival. This, certainly, would be an important step in the work of forming new settlements on the coast of Africa, and would remove one of the strongest objections to emigration, on the part of those com-

fortably situated here. Such liberal provision for emigrants, as this plan contemplates, would only be necessary during the first few years of the existence of our new stations, but in their origin seems to be indispensable. The additional cost to which we would be subjected, would be a small matter, indeed, compared with the advantages that would be secured. Judge Benson, of Liberia, says, that a comfortable, weather-boarded house, for one family, and the planting of an acre of ground in vegetables, will cost \$120. He considers a house of this kind much more healthy than the common \$40 open log buildings, heretofore erected by emigrants. The cost of the passage out, for each emigrant, and his after support for six months, with medical attention if sick, is \$50. These two items of expense being stated, it is easy to estimate the funds needed for an emigrating party.

III. It cannot any longer be denied, that emigration to Liberia, is not only a certain means of securing to the colored man all the social and political rights which he so ardently longs to possess, but that it will also gain for the industrious emigrant, all that happiness which wealth can bestow. The soil of Liberia is so fertile, and the native exportable products now existing upon it, and that may be cultivated, are so abundant, that skill and enterprise are sure of a rich recompense. The progress of events in the commercial world are demonstrating, with great clearness, that this view of the coming prosperity of Liberia, is not the product of an over-excited imagination, under the influence of a benevolent enthusiasm. The increase in the production of coffee and cotton, throughout the world, is no longer equal to their increasing consumption, and the consequent advance in the price of these articles must make their cultivation in Liberia a source of great profit to its citizens. Its soil produces both in great perfection, and England, the greatest manufacturer of cotton in the world, has already turned her attention to that quarter, to make up the deficit in her supplies of that article. President Roberts, in a letter of July 10th, 1850, says, that an Agent of the British manufacturers was then visiting the settlements of Liberia, in charge of two vessels, laden with cotton seeds, cotton gins, and agricultural implements for the cultivation of cotton, and was desirous of making extensive arrangements with the citizens, for its production. Rev. George Thompson, of Kaw-Mendi, which lies to the northwest of Liberia, forty miles



from the coast, also speaks confidently of the practicability of producing sugar and cotton in that region; and since he has succeeded in establishing peace, as before stated, is urgently pleading for aid to introduce their cultivation among the natives. We learn that Mr. Thompson has recently arrived in this country, to plead, personally, for aid to enable him to carry out, more fully and rapidly, the plans he has laid to dispel the moral gloom overshadowing the field of his labors, and to give to that part of Africa a Christian civilization.

Mr. Thompson's opinions in relation to the *healthiness* of Africa, cannot but make a favorable impression upon our colored people. They all know him as a devoted abolitionist, and as having incurred heavy penalties by his early zeal in the anti-slavery cause. Since Liberia has become independent, the principal objection to emigration is on account of the supposed unhealthiness of the climate. But Mr. Thompson's statements, on that subject, flatly contradict the oft repeated declarations of the opponents of Colonization, and more than sustain the opinions of Dr. Lugeneel, late Colonial Physician and U. S. Agent in Liberia, who has recently prepared a tract giving the results of his six years' practice in that Republic. Mr. Thompson expresses the belief that men may settle in Africa with as little loss of life as did the early settlers of New England; and says, he sees no natural cause of sickness there, any more than in any uncultivated country; and can see no reason why it would not be as healthy a country as any, when once cleared up.

With all these facts before us, we cannot but believe, that our colored people will not be long in discovering that Liberia is the true field for their intellectual, moral, social, and political elevation, and that we must soon stand prepared to meet a strong tide of emigration to the New Republic.

In conclusion, we would beg leave to remind you, that, as a free and humane people, desiring to promote human freedom and happiness, we are deeply interested in the promotion of industry in Liberia, and in the speedy development of its resources. This is made apparent, by reference to one, only, of the many articles grown in that country, which are, at present, largely consumed by us. We refer to Coffee. In 1848 we imported 151,400,000 lbs. of that article, of which 114,250,000 lbs. were the product of slave labor, *sustained directly by the slave trade*, in Cuba and

Brazil; and such is the present condition of our commerce, and of the cultivation of Coffee throughout the world, that we must continue indebted to these countries, to this extent, until the free labor of Liberia can supply our wants.

But this view of the Coffee question, is not the only one in which the people of Ohio are interested. The increased consumption of Coffee, has so far gained upon, and exceeded its production, that the old stocks on hand have been consumed, and a deficit has occurred in the supplies, to an extent which has advanced its price to nearly double what it has been for many years past. This deficit might have been prevented, had a liberal and enlightened policy been pursued toward Liberia. The case is an extremely plain one. At the close of 1849, the crop of that year was found to be 426,000,000 lbs, and the old stocks left over from 1848, amounted to 134,000,000 lbs. The consumption of 1850, taking that of preceding years as data, would require 630,000,000 lbs., thus leaving the supply short of the demand by 70,000,000 lbs. For 1851 there would be no old stocks lying over, and as the crop of 1850 might not exceed that of 1849, the supplies, it was perceived, would be short of the demand by 200,000,000 lbs. It was the anticipation of this deficit that has caused the price to advance. An extra production of 200,000,000 lbs., it is plain, would have kept up the supply, and prevented an advance of price. Had there been planted, six years ago, in Liberia, 133 $\frac{1}{3}$  coffee farms, of 1,000 acres each, with the usual proportion of 300 trees to the acre, estimating the product at only five pounds to the tree, we should now annually be supplied with the necessary amount of 200,000,000 lbs. of coffee from that Republic. That European and American capital, could have put under cultivation *one hundred and thirty-three such coffee plantations in Liberia*, none can doubt. There are many single individuals, in both countries, who could have done it. The funds, necessary to execute the task, would have been a mere trifle, compared with the losses the world is sustaining by not, at an earlier day, giving sufficient encouragement to the industry of Liberia.

Allow us, for a moment, to direct your attention to the amount of loss the people of the United States, but particularly those of Ohio, are sustaining, in consequence of the short-sighted policy that has been pursued toward Liberia, and the extent to which an equal sum, if now properly applied, would tend to

relieve us from the embarrassing position we occupy,—not only in relation to our supplies of coffee, but to that of one of the most exciting questions in the politics of the country.

The annual consumption of Coffee by the United States, according to the best authorities, is now 170,000,000 pounds. It formerly cost us, say, 6 cts. per pound, and is now worth 12 cts. This is near enough the actual facts for our present purpose. The population of Ohio is nearly one-tenth of the whole population of the United States. An advance of 6 cts. per pound on Coffee, is a tax upon the people of the United States, of \$10,-200,000 annually, and upon Ohio, one-tenth of this sum, or \$1,020,000.

Now, let us see what might be done with an amount of funds equal to this tax. The annual increase of colored people in the United States, North and South, at present, is 70,000, and the whole colored population of Ohio, not over 30,000. The cost, at \$50 each, for the removal of the former number, would be \$3,500,000, and of the latter \$1,500,000. So, then, the tax paid by the people, in consequence of the advance in the price of Coffee, amounts to a sum, every *twelve months*, for the whole Union, sufficient to remove to Liberia, *nearly three times the number of the annual increase of all the colored people in the country*; and for Ohio, in each *sixteen months*, this tax reaches a sum more than sufficient to remove *the whole colored population in the State*. If, therefore, the people of Ohio, through the Legislature, will give to the Colonization Society, for a period of only two years, the amount of the additional tax they are paying for Coffee, the sum would be amply sufficient to pay for the erection of dwellings and planting of crops, and the cost of the passage out to our *Ohio in Africa*, of all the colored people in the State.

We refer to this tax upon Coffee, to illustrate the ease with which the expense of the emigration of our colored population could be paid, and the people be almost unconscious of the burden imposed; and with the view, also, of showing that the people of Ohio have a direct interest in promoting Colonization to Africa. There are a number of lots of ground planted in Coffee, in Liberia, from which small quantities have been exported. The sooner the amount grown is multiplied to the extent named above, the sooner will we be relieved from the present tax. It is true, however, that no one feels himself greatly burdened by this tax, and it is for this very reason that we would urge the adoption of



measures to be relieved from it ; because the amount necessary to colonize all our colored people, will not be felt a whit more than the tax on Coffee, and as a *hundredth part* of that sum, yearly, would be sufficient in the outset, the burden imposed, we are persuaded, would be most cheerfully born[e] by the people : when, at the same time, they would have the satisfaction of knowing, that it conferred the blessings of civilization upon millions of their fellow-men.

In view, then, of the important bearings of Colonization upon ourselves, upon our colored people, and upon Africa, we ask for an appropriation of funds, to such an amount as, in your judgment, the merit of the work in which we are engaged demands. Nor would we desire to limit, to our own favorite point, the application of the means you may supply, but would plead for equal aid to promote emigration to any of the settlements on the coast of Africa, as all tending to the same grand results. And in thus approaching you, we do not feel that we are asking an expenditure of money for an unusual purpose. We need only call your attention to the fact, that no inconsiderable portion of the legislation of Ohio, for several years, costing the State large sums of money, has grown out of efforts to secure to the colored man equal social and political privileges. If this be a legitimate object upon which to spend the public money, then is our application legitimate ; because all the privileges claimed for the colored man, by his most ardent friends, will be at once secured to him on his landing in Liberia.

In laying before you, gentlemen, the foregoing facts, and in committing our cause into your hands, we trust that the world will not be able to say, that Monarchies are more generous than Democracies—that the former are more potent for good, beyond their own limits, than the latter—that the one gives, freely, its hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling, to alleviate human suffering and advance the cause of humanity, while the other refuses even a penny.

C. P. McIlvaine,	Cincinnati,	E. G. Robinson,	Cincinnati,
John T. Brooke,	"	Thomas Parrott,	Dayton,
N. L. Ride,	"	J. W. Hall,	"
Samuel R. Wilson,	"	James Hoge,	Columbus
Samuel W. Fisher,	"	Reuben Wood,	"
James P. Kilbreth,	"	H. H. Leavitt,	Steubenville,
Alexander Guy,	"	H. G. Comingo,	"
Rufus King,	"		

*Ohio Committee of Correspondence, of the American Colonization Society.*

January 8, 1851.

Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

Vol. VII, 1912, No. 4  
OCTOBER-DECEMBER

ANNUAL REPORT

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Entered as second-class matter, at the post-office at Cincinnati,  
Ohio, under the Act of Congress of July 16, 1894.

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

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CHARLES T. GREVE.

MERRICK WHITCOMB.



ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 2, 1912



CINCINNATI

PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

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The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1912

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### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

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DECEMBER 2d, 1912.

*Mr. President and Members of the Society:*

During the year 170 volumes have been added to the library: 101 of these were donated; 27 purchased; 28 acquired by binding periodicals; and 14 by binding together classified pamphlets. These, added to the 24427 titles reported the previous year, form a total of 24597 in the collection at the present time. The addition of pamphlets consists of 1102 by donation and 375 by exchange.

The pamphlets, 186 in number, withdrawn from the pamphlet collection and bound, formed 6 volumes upon African Colonization; 5 volumes upon William Henry Harrison; and 3 volumes upon Cincinnati.

A few of the titles of volumes purchased are:—

Indian Tribes of Upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes, 2 vols., by E. H. Blair;

Records of the Federal Convention, by Max Farrand;

The Constitutions of Ohio and Allied Documents, by I. F. Patterson;

The Civil War Literature of Ohio, by D. J. Ryan;

Filson Club Publication, No. 26;

Annexation of Texas, by J. H. Smith;

The Big Sandy Valley (Kentucky), by W. Ely;

History of Lancaster Co., Pa., by Ellis & Evans;

Truth about Chickamauga, by A. Gracie;

Buckeye Boys who became Presidents, by S. Rennick;

Portage Path, by P. P. Cherry;



History of the United States, Vol. 3, by E. Channing;  
Early Pennsylvania (Original Narrative Series);  
Atlas of Ashtabula Co., Ohio;  
Cincinnati the Queen City, by Rev. C. F. Goss;  
History of Georgia, by C. C. Jones, Jr.;  
Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, by A. Johnson;  
Art Work of Cincinnati, pub. by G. E. White Co., 1898. It contains 93 beautiful illustrations of different points of interest in and around the city.

We have received a very valuable addition to our collection of material bearing upon Ohio, consisting of 2 volumes, "No. 85 (Ohio)," of the Series of the "Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States" published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. As the title suggests, it is an index of Ohio State publications, and was compiled by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, who spent several days in this library, examining our collection of such publications, and we are indebted to her for the gift of this copy.

Another valued work upon Ohio has been given by Mr. Albert H. Chatfield. This is the new publication entitled, "History of Ohio, The Rise and Progress of an American State," 5 volumes, by Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan.

A few manuscripts and other gifts of a miscellaneous nature have been received, and are as follows:—

*Mr. C. T. Greve:*

Original Record of the Proceedings of the Township of Cincinnati, commencing with the year 1808.

*Mr. C. L. Harrison:*

11 Indentures; Maps of Ohio Flood, 1883 & 1884; Broad-sides, etc.

*Mr. F. W. Hinkle:*

Note of Franklin Bank of Cincinnati, 1834;

Indenture of land in western part of Cincinnati, 1814, a conveyance by A. St. Clair, Jr., to Jacob Baymiller;

Draft of the environs of Cincinnati and has on reverse side a statement apparently made by a committee to whom was referred the duty of naming the chief localities in the vicinity; it is without signature. Also, has a short communication addressed to M. G. Williams and the signature, I think, is J. A. Warder, whose short response appears just beneath.

*Mr. D. L. James:*

10 Photographs of Cincinnati.

*Louisiana State Museum:*

Centennial Medal of Louisiana.

*Miss Ida E. Murdoch:*

By her Will Miss Murdoch gave to the Society a beautiful piece of plate-silver engrossed with an illustration of Sheridan meeting General Wright as he rode into Winchester town, and the words: "Hurrah! hurrah for Sheridan! Hurrah! hurrah for horse and man!" from Thomas Buchanan Reid's "Sheridan's Ride." The plate was presented to her grandfather, James E. Murdoch, December 6, 1890, during an entertainment given at Pike's Opera House, for the benefit of The Home for Incurables, following his recital of that poem for the second time to a Cincinnati audience. The first recital was on the occasion of a benefit given to him Oct. 31, 1864, by friends in recognition of his services in reading to and caring for the soldiers in camp and on battlefield. It is an interesting fact that these stirring lines were written by the author upon that day for Mr. Murdoch, and at the house of Mr. Cyrus Garrett, No. 49 West Eighth Street.

*Mr. M. Outcalt:*

22 Bills of fractional U. S. Currency.

*Mrs. C. S. Sargent:*

Several postal cards illustrating the Findlay, Ohio, Centennial.

*Mr. C. W. Short:*

43 miscellaneous receipts and notes of early dates, bearing signatures of J. C. Symmes, A. St. Clair, William Goforth, Peyton Symmes, Peyton Short and others.

*Mr. Bellamy Storer:*

Letter of Rutherford B. Hayes, Nov. 1, 1871; Letter of Thomas Ewing to Bellamy Storer, Aug. 17, 1824, in reference to the Boyd claim; Power of attorney, 1822, by heirs of James Boyd, to B. Storer in re to claim for land on the Scioto river, Franklin Co., Ohio, granted by Congress 1783 and 1785, for relief of the Canada and Nova Scotia Refugees; and, Platt of House Lots at Clinton on the Lebanon Town Pike, 3 miles from Cincinnati.

*Mr. C. B. Wilby:*

"Bull Moose" Badge worn by the adherents of Roosevelt in campaign of 1912.

*Mr. Joseph Wilby:*

Photograph of First Congregational Church, Eighth & Plum Streets.

*U. S. Treasury Department:*

40 Confederate Bills of different denominations.

The Editor of the Findlay, Ohio, *Morning Republican*, has very considerably forwarded to the Society issues of that newspaper, containing accounts of the Fort Findlay Centennial Celebration, July-August, 1912. We have also received, perhaps from the same source, the Souvenir and official Program of the Centennial. As the fort was built by General James Findlay of Cincinnati the accounts are especially interesting to the residents of this city.

The usual routine work has continued in the library, with the addition of considerable extra labor upon the pamphlet material, made possible by some outside assistance.



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American Antiquarian Society.....	1 misc.	
American Association for International Conciliation.....		18
American Historical Association.....		1
Antioch College.....		1
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Boston City Register Department.....		1
Bureau of Railway Economics.....		Charts, etc.
Canadian Archivist.....	1	
Carnegie Institution of Washington.....		1
Chicago Historical Society.....		1
Cincinnati—		
Art Academy.....		1
Bureau of Municipal Research.....		1
Chamber of Commerce.....	1	
Children's Home.....		1
Museum Association.....	1	21
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Colorado Historical Society.....		1
Colorado Scientific Society.....		4
Connecticut Historical Society.....		1
Connecticut State Library.....	2	
Cornell University.....	1	
Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati.....		1
Essex Institute.....	1	3
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Illinois State Historical Society.....	2	4
Indiana State Library.....		3
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Iowa Historic Department.....		5
Iowa Sons of the Revolution.....	1	
Iowa State Historical Society.....		4
Kansas State Historical Society.....	1	1
Lake Mohonk Conference.....		1
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Minnesota Historical Society.....	1	
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Museo Nacional do Rio de Janiero.....	2	
Nebraska State Historical Society.....	1	
Newberry Library.....		1
New Hampshire Historical Society.....	1	
New Haven Colony Historical Society.....		1
New Jersey Historical Society.....		1
New London County Historical Society.....	1	
New York Public Library.....		10
Nova Scotia Institute of Science.....		3
Oberlin College.....	1	
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station.....	1	2
Archaeological and Historical Society.....		4
Board of Health.....		9
Board of State Charities.....		4
Secretary of State.....	2	1
State University.....		4
Tax Commission.....	1	
Ohio Grand Lodge.....		1
Pennsylvania Historical Society.....	1	
Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors.....	1	
Philadelphia Museum.....		1
Princeton University.....	1	
Prudential Insurance Company of America.....	1	
Rhode Island Historical Society.....		1
Royal Society of Canada.....	1	
St. Xavier College.....		1
Schenectady Historical Society.....		1
Swedish Colonial Society.....		1
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United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology.....	2	
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Bureau of Education.....	2	
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University of Illinois.....		1
University of Michigan.....	1	
University of Toronto.....		1
Washington University State Historical Society.....		3
Williams Directory Co.....	2	
Wisconsin Historical Commission.....	1	
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	1	
Worcester Public Library.....		1
Wyoming Historical Society.....		1
Yale University.....		3
Adams, Brooks.....		1
Bradford, J. E.....newspaper		
De Cyon, E.....		6
Democratic National Committee.....		1
Dickore, Miss M. P.....		103
Diffendorfer, F. R.....	1	
Dryden, J. F.....		1
Gospel Trumpet Co.....	1	
Graves, Right Rev. A. R.....	1	
Greve, Mrs. T. L. A.....		1
Griffith, G. P.....1 misc.		
Harrison, C. L.....		2
Hasse, Miss A. R.....	2	
Heyburn, W. B.....		1
Jameson, J. F.....		3
Jamison, Mrs. F. D.....misc.		
McCumber, P. J.....		1
Moore, C. B.....	1	
Sherwood, H. I.....		3
Short, C. W.....Mss.		
Thayer, G. A.....		25
Thompson, S.....	1	
Werber, G.....		1
Wilby, C. B.....misc.		

## MEMBERS

Anderson, Mrs. L. N.....Periodicals unb. &	22	
Bliss, E. F.....	6	94
Chatfield, A. H.....	5	
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H.....		108
Greve, C. T.....1 mss. vol. &	1	
Hamlin, L. B.....		10
Jones, F. J.....		36
Storer, B.....misc. &	1	
Wilby, J.....	1	2
Winslow, J. F.....newspapers &		28



## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

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The Librarian's report contains, as it did last year, so full an account of the year's work, that it seems unnecessary for the President to add anything to it.

The subjects of our Quarterlies during the past year were as follows:

No. 1, Vol. VII, Jan.-Mch., Journal of Miss Susan Walker, covering period between March 3 and June 6, 1862. Edited by Henry Nobel Sherwood, Instructor of History in the University of Cincinnati;

Nos. 2 and 3, Vol. VII, Apr.-Sept., included in one Quarterly, "The Movement in Ohio to Deport the Negro," by Henry Nobel Sherwood, of the University of Cincinnati; with reprints of two pamphlets upon African Colonization;

No. 4, Vol. VII, Oct.-Dec., will consist, as usual, of the annual reports of the Librarian, Treasurer and President.

LUCIEN WULSIN, a corporate member, died August 4th, 1912, at Paris, France.

JOSEPH WILBY,

December 2, 1912.

*President.*

# REPORT OF TREASURER

December 2, 1912.

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1912.

## Schedule "A."

### STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

At November 30, 1912.

#### ASSETS.

Cash in bank.....	\$1,597 47
Librarian's Petty Fund.....	30 05
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.—Interest Account..	13 20
Investments.....Exhibit 1 & 1a	37,654 91
Fee of Property No. 107 West 8th St.....	29,000 00
Total.....	<u>\$68,295 63</u>

#### LIABILITIES.

FUND	ACCOUNT	EXHIBIT	
General.....	Investment....	2,	\$716 25
Building.....	Principal.....	3,	17,460 57
Endowment.....		4,	12,320 00
Life Membership.....	Investment....	5,	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication.....	Investment....	6,	1,227 17
Julius Dexter Publication.....	Income.....	6,	3 38
E. H. Appleton Memorial.....	Investment....	7,	4,334 55
E. H. Appleton Memorial.....	Income.....	7,	320 36
Halsted Neave.....	Investment....	8,	5,982 00
Halsted Neave.....	Income.....	8,	95 73
Erasmus Gest.....	Investment....	9,	5,091 87
Erasmus Gest.....	Income.....	9,	126 91
Margaret Rives King.....	Investment....	10,	8,856 25
Margaret Rives King.....	Income.....	10,	231 93
A. J. Howe.....	Investment....	11,	5,316 88
A. J. Howe.....	Income.....	11,	80 69
Colonial Dames.....	Investment....	12,	200 00
Colonial Dames.....	Income.....	12,	13 75
Binding.....	Investment....	13,	892 81
Binding.....	Income.....	13,	12 60
Total.....			<u>\$68,295 63</u>

## Schedule "B."

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended November 30, 1912.

DUES:—		RECEIPTS.	
1909.....		\$10 00	
1910.....		10 00	
1911.....		10 00	
1912.....		510 00	
			\$540 00
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:—			
General Fund.....		\$31 00	
Life Membership Fund.....		283 20	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....		53 90	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....		208 40	
Halsted Neave Fund.....		279 30	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....		363 20	
Colonial Dames Fund.....		12 40	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....		246 24	
A. J. Howe Fund.....		236 26	
Binding Fund.....		77 46	
			1,791 36
Rent of 107 W. Eighth St. to Oct. 1, 1912..			800 00
Total Receipts.....			\$3,131 36
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Salaries—Librarian & Janitor.....		\$1,050 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....		75 25	
Stationery.....		7 55	
Postage.....		20 64	
Printing.....		231 34	
Audit of Treasurer's Books.....		25 00	
Safety Deposit rental.....		7 00	
Insurance.....		99 00	
Miscellaneous.....		38 30	
			\$1,554 08
E. H. Appleton Fund—Books purchased.....		5 00	
Margaret R. King Fund—Books purchased and binding.....		96 70	
General Fund—Sundry.....		56 25	
Binding Fund—Binding.....		13 35	
			171 30
One American Book Co. \$1,000.00 6% Bond,		1,115 00	
Two St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line \$1,000.00—4½% Bonds.....		1,835 00	
Accrued Interest on above.....		64 50	
			3,014 50
Total Disbursements.....			4,739 88
Excess disbursements above receipts...			1,608 52
Cash on hand December 1, 1911.....			3,236 04
			1,627 52
Less Cash in Librarian's hands Nov. 30, 1912			30 05
CASH IN BANK, NOVEMBER 30, 1912...			\$1,597 47



(Exhibit "1.")

## STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

At November 30, 1912.

DESCRIPTION	RATE	PAR VALUE	BOOK VALUE
145 Shares of Cincinnati St. Ry. .... Stock,	6 %	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
7 C. H. & D. Ry. .... Bonds,	4½ %	7,000 00	7,395 00
8 C. & O. Ry. .... "	4½ %	8,000 00	8,285 00
2 C. L. & N. Ry. .... "	4 %	2,000 00	1,975 00
2 N. & W. Ry. .... "	4 %	2,000 00	1,755 00
1 Chattanooga Station Co. .... "	4 %	1,000 00	930 00
1 Kineon Coal Co. .... "	5 %	1,000 00	1,000 00
2 Ky. Central Ry. .... "	4 %	2,000 00	1,950 00
1 Cincinnati, Newport & Covington St. Ry. .... "	5 %	1,000 00	1,045 00
2 Western Pacific Ry. .... "	5 %	2,000 00	1,870 00
1 American Book Co. .... "	6 %	1,000 00	1,115 00
2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line. "	4½ %	2,000 00	1,835 00
Total Stocks & Bonds. ....		\$36,250 00	\$37,603 88
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. ....	3 %		51 03
Total Funds Invested. ....			<u>\$37,654 91</u>

(Exhibit "1a.")

## STATEMENT OF INVESTED FUNDS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30, 1912.

GENERAL FUND:		
10 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock. ....		\$716 25
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:		
83 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock. ....	\$4,425 75	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4½ % Bonds. ....	314 38	
4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock. ....	289 00	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & S. D. Co. ....	8 00	
		<u>5,037 13</u>
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:		
12 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock. ....	\$834 00	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds. ....	224 25	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & S. D. Co. ....	16 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½ % Bonds. ....	152 92	
		<u>1,227 17</u>
Forwarded. ....		\$6,980 55

Forward..... \$6,980 55

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 C. H. & D. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$2,882 50	
13 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....	677 50	
2 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....	144 50	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	314 37	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	97 50	
Part interest in St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	191 15	
Savings deposit—Central Trust & S. D. Co.....	27 03	
		<u>4,334 55</u>

HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$1,000 00	
Kineon Coal Co. 5% Bonds.....	1,000 00	
2 N. & W. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,755 00	
Part interest in Ky. Central Ry. 4% Bonds.....	487 50	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	165 75	
1 American Book Co. 6% Bond.....	1,115 00	
Part interest in St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bond.....	458 75	
		<u>5,982 00</u>

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$4,512 50	
7 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....	481 25	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	1,551 25	
Part interest in Ky. Central Ry. 4% Bond.....	1,462 50	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	390 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
		<u>8,856 25</u>

COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....	200 00
-------------------------------------------	--------

BINDING FUND:

10 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....	\$680 63	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	97 50	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	114 68	
		<u>892 81</u>

ERASMUS GEST FUND:

1 C. & O. Ry. 4½% \$1,000.00 Bond.....	\$1,017 50	
1 Chattanooga Station Co. \$1,000 4% Bond.....	930 00	
1 Cin. Newport & Covington \$1,000 5% Bond....	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Ry. \$1,000.00 4% Bonds.....	1,870 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	229 37	
		<u>5,091 87</u>

A. J. HOWE FUND:

5 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$5,087 50	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line Bonds.....	229 38	
		<u>5,316 88</u>

Total.....	<u>\$37,654 91</u>
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(Exhibit "2.")

## GENERAL FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1909.....	\$10 00	
1910.....	10 00	
1911.....	10 00	
1912.....	520 00	
		<hr/>
Dividend, Cincinnati St. Ry.....		\$550 00
Transferred from Endowment Fund, being Interest on this fund loaned to Building Fund..		31 00
Transferred from Life Membership Income Account.....		615 00
Excess disbursements over receipts transferred to Building Fund (Exhibit 3).....		283 41
		140 92
		<hr/>
		\$1,620 33

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries, Librarian & Janitor.....	\$1,050 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....	75 25	
Printing.....	231 34	
Postage.....	20 64	
Stationery.....	3 25	
Insurance.....	99 00	
Subscriptions and dues.....	20 50	
Paper for Quarterly.....	25 50	
Dues of Librarian.....	10 00	
Auditing.....	25 00	
Miscellaneous.....	59 85	
		<hr/>
		1,620 33

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<hr/>
	\$716 25

(Exhibit "3.")

## BUILDING FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Rent to October 1, 1912.....	\$800 00
------------------------------	----------

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Interest on Endowment Fund.....	\$615 00	
Transfer to Building Fund Principal Account....	44 08	
Transfer from General Fund.....	140 92	
		<hr/>
		800 00



## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	\$17,416 49
Transferred from Income Account.....	44 08
	<hr/>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1912....	<u>\$17,460 57</u>

(Exhibit "4.")

## ENDOWMENT FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Interest on loans to Building Fund, transferred to General Fund.....	<u>\$615 00</u>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911 .....	<u>\$12,320 00</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912 .....	<u>\$12,320 00</u>

(Exhibit "5.")

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry.—Dividends.....	\$269 70
C. & O. Ry. Co.—Bond Interest.....	13 50
Interest on Savings Account.....	21
	<hr/>
	\$283 41

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund.....	<u>\$283 41</u>
----------------------------------	-----------------

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$5,037 13</u>

(Exhibit "6.")

## JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911..... \$105 26

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry.—Dividend.....	\$37 20	
St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line—Bond Interest	7 50	
C. L. & N. Ry. Bond Interest.....	9 20	
Interest on Savings Account.....	43	
		<hr/>
		54 33

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\$159 59

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

One-twelfth interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City		
Short Line Bonds, Purchased.....	152 92	
Accrued Interest on same.....	3 29	
		<hr/>
		156 21

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912..... \$3 38

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911..... \$1,074 25

One-twelfth interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City		
Short Line Bonds, purchased.....	152 92	

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\$1,227 17

(Exhibit "7.")

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance at November 30, 1911..... \$311 57

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. —Dividends.....	\$46 50	
C. H. & D. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	135 00	
C. & O. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	13 50	
C. L. & N. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	4 00	
St. Paul & Kansas Cy.—Bond Interest.....	9 40	
Interest on Savings Account.....	65	
		<hr/>
		209 05

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\$520 62

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Five-forty-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas		
City Short Line Bonds, purchased.....	\$191 15	
Accrued interest on same.....	4 11	
Books purchased.....	5 00	
		<hr/>
		200 26

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912..... \$320 36

# INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	\$4,143 40
Five forty-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line Bonds purchased.....	191 15
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$4,334 55</u>

(Exhibit "8.")

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance at November 30, 1911.....	\$425 06
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#### RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	\$46 80
Ky. Central Ry. —Bond Interest.....	20 00
N. & W. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	80 00
Kineon Coal Co. —Bond Interest.....	50 00
St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line—Bond Interest.....	22 50
American Book Co. —Bond Interest.....	60 00
	<u>279 30</u>
	\$704 36

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

One-fourth interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line Bonds, purchased.....	\$458 75
Accrued interest on same.....	9 88
Transfer from H. Neave "Principal Account"....	115 00
Accrued interest on American Book Co. bond....	25 00
	<u>608 63</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$95 73</u>

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	\$4,408 25
One American Book Co., bond purchased.....	1,115 00
One-quarter interest in 1 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line bond.....	458 75
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$5,982 00</u>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	\$1,000 00
One American Book Co., bond purchased.....	<u>\$1,000 00</u>



(Exhibit "9.")

## ERASMUS GEST FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911..... \$114 98

#### RECEIPTS:

Western Pacific Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	\$100 00	
Cin. Newport & Covington			
St. Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	50 00	
Chattanooga Station	—Bond Interest.....	40 00	
C. & O. Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	45 00	
St. Paul & Kansas City			
Short Line	—Bond Interest.....	11 24	
			<u>246 24</u>
			\$361 22

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

One-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City			
Short Line bonds, purchased.....	\$229 37		
Accrued interest on same.....	4 94		
			<u>234 31</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912..... \$126 91

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911..... \$4,862 50

One-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City		
Short Line bonds, purchased.....	229 37	

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912..... \$5,091 87

(Exhibit "10.")

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911..... \$434 05

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry.	—Dividends.....	\$21 70	
C. H. & D. Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	180 00	
C. & O. Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	63 00	
Kansas City Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	60 00	
C. L. & N. Ry.	—Bond Interest.....	16 00	
St. Paul, Kansas City			
Short Line	—Bond Interest.....	22 50	
			<u>363 20</u>
			\$797 25

## DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased .....	\$92 95	
Binding .....	3 75	
One-quarter interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line bonds .....	458 75	
Accrued interest on same .....	9 87	
		<u>565 32</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912 .....		<u>\$231 93</u>

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911 .....	\$8,397 50
One-quarter interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line bonds purchased .....	458 75
	<u>\$8,856 25</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912 .....	

(Exhibit "11.")

## A. J. HOWE FUND

November 30, 1912.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911 .....	\$78 75
-----------------------------------------	---------

## RECEIPTS:

C. & O. Ry. Co. —Bond Interest .....	\$225 00	
St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line —Bond Interest .....	11 26	
		<u>236 26</u>
		\$315 01

## DISBURSEMENTS:

One-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line bonds purchased .....	\$229 38	
Accrued interest .....	4 94	
		<u>234 32</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912 .....		<u>\$80 69</u>

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911 .....	\$5,087 50
One-eight interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line bonds, purchased .....	229 38
	<u>\$5,316 88</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912 .....	

(Exhibit "12.")

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911.....	\$1 35
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati St. Ry.—Dividends.....	12 40
BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$13 75</u>

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	<u>\$200 00</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$200 00</u>

(Exhibit "13.")

## BINDING FUND

November 30, 1912.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance, November 30, 1911.....	\$46 74
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati St. Ry.—Dividends.....	\$31 00
C. L. & N. Ry. —Bond Interest.....	4 00
Savings Account, withdrawn.....	29 51
Interest on Savings Account.....	1 05
St. Paul & Kansas	
City Short Line—Bond Interest.....	5 60
	<u>71 16</u>
	\$117 90

### DISBURSEMENTS:

One-sixth interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City	
Short Line bonds.....	114 68
Accrued Interest on same.....	2 47
Binding.....	13 35
	<u>130 50</u>
DEBIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$12 60</u>

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....	\$807 64
One-sixth interest in 2 St. Paul & Kansas City	
Short Line bonds, purchased.....	114 68
	<u>\$922 32</u>
LESS—Savings Deposit withdrawn.....	29 51
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	<u>\$892 81</u>



## REPORT OF AUDITOR

---

December 2, 1912.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

*Sirs:—*

We have audited the books and accounts of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, for the year ended November 30, 1912.

As a part of this report, we submit the following schedules, which are accompanied by exhibits, showing in detail the various items contained therein.

*Schedule "A"*—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30, 1912.

*Schedule "B"*—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30, 1912.

Receipts shown to have been received, have been properly accounted for and disbursements have been made in accordance with authorized vouchers on file. Cash on deposit and on hand at November 30, 1912, has been verified.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been examined and are in agreement with the account as shown by Exhibit 1.

We hereby certify that the above schedules correctly show the operation for the year ended November 30, 1912, and the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1912.

GUY H. KENNEDY,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*

## CORPORATE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Davis C.	Ingalls, M. E.
Anderson, Larz W.	James, Davis L.
Anderson, William H.	Keyes, Miss Mary E.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Ault, L. A.	Levy, Harry M.
<i>Blake</i> <i>resigned</i> Blake, Rudolph F.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Battelle, John G.	Ludlow, William S.
Brunswick, B. H.	Miller, Griffin T.
Caldwell, Charles E.	Outcalt, Miller
Callahan, John R.	Parkinson, George B.
Carew, Joseph T.	Patterson, Jefferson
Cist, Charles M.	Patterson, John H.
Compton, William C.	Patterson, Robert
Dabney, Charles W.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Procter, William Cooper
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
DeCamp, Walter A.	Rosenthal, C. H.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Foley, B. W.	Shillito, Stewart
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Storer, Bellamy
Foster, William Lytle	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Taft, Charles P.
<i>Freiburg</i> Freiburg, Maurice J.	Taylor, William W.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Voorheis, Albert B.
Goepper, Edward	Whitcomb, Merrick
Greve, Charles Theodore	Wilson, Obed J.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Harrison, William H.	Winslow, John F. <i>died 1913</i>
Henderson, Edwin	Wolf, James J.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Worthington, Edward
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, William
Holmes, John R.	

## LIFE MEMBERS

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Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.  
 Bliss, Eugene F.  
 Bullock, James W.  
 Chatfield, Albert H.  
 Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.  
 Fleischmann, Julius  
 Fletcher, Miss Clara B.  
 Gest, Joseph H.  
 x Hurd, E. O. *died*  
 Jones, Frank J.  
 Jones, Mrs. Frank J.

Laws, Miss Annie  
 Livingood, Charles J.  
 Neave, Miss Alice  
 Neave, Miss Jane C.  
 Procter, Harley T.  
 Storer, Mrs. Bellamy  
 Thomson, Peter G.  
 Vail, Henry H.  
 Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis  
 Wilby, Joseph  
 Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Adams, Charles Francis  
 Cox, Isaac J.  
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 Green, Samuel A.

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 Thwaites, Reuben Gold  
 Tyson, Philip T.

*1874*  
*St. Paul Minn.*  
*Paul*  
*died Oct.*  
*Baltimore Md.*  
*1874*

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Lucien Wulsin, August 4, 1912.



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Relation of Southern Ohio to the South  
During the Decade Preceding the  
Civil War

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## THE RELATION OF SOUTHERN OHIO TO THE SOUTH DURING THE DECADE PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR.

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The aim of this study is to ascertain as nearly as possible what forces were tending to bind the people of the southern part of Ohio with those of the slave states just south of the Ohio river: to approximate the strength of such forces, and by means of these, to produce a key which will enable us to see the situation as men saw it two generations ago. By southern Ohio we mean that part of the state which lies south of the old National Road. This line is selected because for many years it was to Ohio politics what Mason and Dixon's line was to national politics—a line of cleavage.

Although sectionalism is not our theme, yet it seems necessary at the outset to point out that on the slavery question in the state were those whose views ranged from a desire for a qualified form of slavery to immediate abolition. Ohio is at once the home of the Western Reserve and the Virginia Military District—the former settled by New Englanders whose hatred for slavery was deep seated, the latter populated mainly by sons of the South, especially from Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. To be sure, some of these settlers came here to escape from the curse of slavery, and were its bitter opponents. This is especially true of the Quakers who left for free soil.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand many—a large majority—because of kinship, political, commercial and social relations, were passive on the question of slavery, at least during the first third of the nineteenth century.

It seems logical, therefore, to begin our study with an analysis of the progenitors of the people of this section who were active in the affairs of the period immediately preceding the War.

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<sup>1</sup>See S. B. Weeks: Southern Quakers and Slavery.



By taking the "pioneer sketches" in the county histories it will be found that from a third to a half of the pioneers were of Southern birth.<sup>2</sup>

The political activity of this southern element is apparent. Nearly all writers of this period state that this element was more aggressive than the people of the upper part of the state, and as a result, they dominated the politics of the state down to the middle fifties. Taking the period of 1821 to 1830 as a whole, one-third of the members of the state legislature was of southern birth.<sup>3</sup> As late as 1845 nearly one-fifth of the legislators was born on slave soil.<sup>4</sup> In Adams county five of the first ten judges came from the South. Of the first twenty-seven governors of Ohio, seven were born across the river.<sup>5</sup> Of the twenty-seven United States senators down to Joseph Foraker (1896) the South furnished one-third, Virginia alone giving six of her sons.<sup>6</sup> In the last year of the Civil war one-fifth of the state senate was of southern birth.<sup>7</sup> In 1850 a little less than eight percent of the entire population of the state was of southern birth. Ten years later it had fallen to a little more than six percent of the total population.<sup>8</sup> The census of 1870 showed that there were 53000 Virginia-born residents of the section under consideration. The figures for Kentucky and Maryland would aggregate those for Virginia. At the same time we should not forget to point out that Pennsylvania had more sons on Ohio soil than all the slave states combined.<sup>9</sup> Counting the native adult male population only, in 1840, one-fourth of the people of Cincinnati was born south of the Mason-Dixon line.<sup>10</sup> By 1850 the ratio of southern-born to those born elsewhere had fallen one-half.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Adams County shows 35%; Brown, 43%; Clinton, 70%; Clermont, 48%; Montgomery, 70%; and Pickaway, 57%. These percentages are based on a pioneer list averaging 170 persons per County.

<sup>3</sup>Chaddock: Ohio before 1850, Col. Univ. Stud., Vol. 31, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Cist: Cincinnati Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup>Ryan: History of Ohio.

<sup>6</sup>Taylor, W. A.: Ohio in Congress.

<sup>7</sup>Stagg Abr. Pamphlet F 892Z, Wis. Hist. Library.

<sup>8</sup>Computed from censuses of 1850 and 1860.

<sup>9</sup>Census of 1850 showed that 153,756 persons in Ohio were born on slave soil. In 1860 the number fell to 134,883. Pa. in 1850 had 200,634 to her credit, and in 1860, 174,764.

<sup>10</sup>Cist, Cincinnati in 1841, p. 39. At the same time Pa. furnished  $\frac{1}{5}$ .

<sup>11</sup>Cist, Cin. 1851. Ratio of colored to white in Cin., 1 to 36. In Columbus ratio was 1 to 14.

The above figures and comparisons are offered to show that the southern-born element was an influential factor in the political life of the state. That the aggressiveness of this element prevented laws friendly to the negro will appear further along in this work. This element sustained the "Black Laws," which lasted throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

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## POLITICS OF SOUTHERN OHIO.

In 1848 the Whigs carried this section by more than 10,000 votes, but in 1852 and also in 1856 it went Democratic, the former year by 3,800 and the latter by 8,800 votes. With four tickets in the field in 1860 this section gave Douglas a majority of 300. An analysis of the elections of 1848 to 1860 reveals many shades of party principles. Here one-third of the Free Soil vote of Ohio was polled in 1852. This section cast four-fifths of the American Party's vote in Ohio in 1856, and three-fifths of the Constitutional Union party's vote in 1860. The Republican party polled 37 per cent of its Ohio vote in this section in 1856 and 38 per cent in 1860.<sup>12</sup>

The Scioto Valley was Whig in 1852, but went Democratic in 1856, save Scioto county, which, strange to say, was carried by the Free Soil party. Of the thirty-five counties included in this study, twenty were Whig in 1852. Four years later thirteen of them were Republican, while in 1860 Lincoln carried twenty-four of them.

The state election of 1861 showed very little change in the strength of the parties from 1860, but in the election of the following year, the great falling off from the Republican party reveals the strength of the opposition to the war.<sup>13</sup> In this election the Republican party lost eleven counties. This reduced the Republican strength to practically the Fremont vote; in fact there is a striking resemblance between the election maps of 1856 and 1862.<sup>14</sup>

The Republican counties in 1856 consisted of two groups, with six contiguous counties in each group, and one isolated county in the southwestern part of the state. One group lay

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<sup>12</sup>Compiled from the Whig Almanac.

<sup>13</sup>See election maps in Appendix A.

<sup>14</sup>Compare maps in Appendix A.

just below the National Road along the southeastern boundary line of Ohio. The other group was situated between the Scioto and the Great Miami rivers. Of these thirteen counties, all save one had been Whig in 1852.

The figures above show that the Free Soil party cast a rather light vote in the section under review. This party carried Clinton county in 1853 and in Meigs county the same year it cast 35 per cent of the total vote. On the other hand, Lawrence county did not poll a Free Soil vote in the gubernatorial election of 1851. At the same time Butler county with a voting population of 5,000 cast but two Free Soil votes. Pickaway county also cast two Free Soil votes of a total of 4,000 votes. In 1853 Perry county with a voting strength of 6,375 cast but 78 Free Soil votes. The American Party polled one-third of the Scioto county vote in 1857. Hamilton county (Cincinnati county-seat) consistently voted Democratic until 1860, when Lincoln carried it by less than one thousand from a total of 35,000 votes.<sup>15</sup>

The vote for Mr. Lincoln and the response to his call for troops "to preserve the Union" lead one to conclude that when the perpetuity of the Union was at stake, the men of this section who previously had been loath to insult the slaveholders now saw but one line of duty—to fight for the maintenance of the Union.<sup>16</sup>

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## ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO.

By a famous clause of the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was forbidden in the Northwest Territory from which Ohio became a state in 1803. The territorial legislature as early as 1799 was asked to permit slavery in the Virginia Military District—a reserve tract for Virginia soldiers of the Revolution.<sup>17</sup> A second petition to the same effect followed two years later, but both were unheeded.

According to a reliable authority,<sup>18</sup> more than one hundred propositions relating to the negro were presented to the Constitutional Convention of 1802. The real significance of this

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<sup>15</sup>Compiled from Whig Almanac.

<sup>16</sup>For the break-down of parties, see below the "Call to Arms."

<sup>17</sup>See Map 1, Appendix A.

<sup>18</sup>Chaddock (above cited).



movement is revealed when we consider that there were but 337 negroes in the proposed state. A motion to grant citizenship and the franchise to the negro resulted in defeat only by the casting vote of the president of the convention, Mr. Tiffin, a native of Virginia.

The convention contained some delegates who thought that slavery would prove to be a beneficial factor in populating and building up the proposed state. Such members professed to see a way to secure slavery in Ohio in spite of the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance of 1787. They claimed that the prohibition was binding only while the territorial status remained and that when any part of the territory became a state it was free to act in this matter.<sup>19</sup> Although many of the delegates were willing to test the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance on a temporary or qualified slavery, yet Cutler's clause prohibiting slavery passed in committee 5 to 4, and in convention by one vote.

The question of negro suffrage was before the convention of 1802. The Committee on the Elective Franchise reported on the basis of white male suffrage. A motion asking that the word "white" be struck out lost by five votes.<sup>20</sup>

The enemies of the free negro very nearly caused a clause to be written in the constitution which would have made his lot an unenviable one. The proposed Section 7 is of sufficient importance to warrant its insertion in full: "No Negro or Mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give their [sic] oath in any court of justice against a white person, be subject to do military duty, or pay a poll tax in this state; provided always, and it is fully understood and declared that all negroes and mulattoes, now in, or who may hereafter reside in this state, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of this state, not excepted by this constitution."<sup>21</sup> What the latter part of this section means, nobody took time to explain. This section passed by a vote of 19 to 16, but was later recalled by a vote of 17 to 16.<sup>22</sup>

What the constitution of 1802 did for the negro is well expressed by Hickok: "To any one reading the constitution of

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<sup>19</sup>Debates of Const. Conv. 1802, cited by Hickok, Chap. 11.

<sup>20</sup>Minutes, p. 21.

<sup>21</sup>Minutes, p. 31-32.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, p. 37.

1802 it is clear that the framers intended the negro to occupy the same relation to the government that the Indian or unnaturalized foreigner did. They were permitted to live in the state and the protection of the laws was offered them, but in the government of the state they had no part. Civic duties were not to be demanded of them nor any of the distinctive privileges of a citizen to be allowed them.<sup>23</sup>

That the negro was an unwelcome resident of Ohio is proven by the so-called Black Laws—a series of laws in force until 1849—which dealt very harshly with the negro. One provision of the Act of 1804 gave the resident negroes 20 days to secure a \$1500 bond signed by two approved men who also guaranteed their behavior and support. For a quarter of a century this law remained a dead letter, but in 1829 the authorities of Cincinnati decided to enforce it. The negroes were given thirty days to comply with the provisions of this act. They sent a deputation to Canada to learn what sort of treatment would be given them there, but before the committee returned the thirty days expired. Another thirty days was granted, but before the return of the committee the city was in the throes of mob rule which lasted three days.<sup>24</sup> A few days later, upon receipt of favorable news from Canada eleven hundred negroes, or one-half the whole colored population, left for the British Dominion.<sup>25</sup> Another provision of the Act of 1804 forbade negro testimony in cases where whites were a party; however he was allowed to swear to his signature in case of a suit for debt.<sup>26</sup>

The river counties were profiting by the existence of slavery to the south of them and were therefore reluctant to do anything that would offend their friends and customers who held slaves. Caleb Atwater saw the benefits that Cincinnati could derive from the slave system of adjacent states. Many instances show the close relationship that existed between the people of the river counties and those of the slave states, especially previous to 1850. In 1839, upon request from Kentucky

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<sup>23</sup>Hickok: *The Negro in Ohio*, p. 39.

<sup>24</sup>Greve: *Hist. of Cin.*

<sup>25</sup>Greve: *Hist. of Cin.*, Vol. I, p. 751, speaking of a race riot a little later, says, "The citizens in those days seemed more afraid of offending the slavery adherents than of the lawlessness of the criminal elements."

<sup>26</sup>Act of 1804 was modified somewhat in 1807. For the repeal of the Black Laws see Hart's *Chase*, pp. 104-106.

and Virginia, Ohio passed a fugitive slave law. The vote in the House was 53 to 15, the opposition coming from the lake counties.

Many incidents might be cited to show the attitude of the people of Ohio toward the free person of color. For obvious reasons, the people of southern Ohio could not be very zealous in elevating the position of the negro without giving offense to their slaveholding friends across the river. Hence, while the commercial and social relations were dominating the thought of the people of the river counties their hostility to the negro is apparent. While this is true of the vast majority of people it is not true of all, because we find very ardent abolitionists in this section. The Underground Railroad also had several famous operatives in this region.

The case of Randolph's slaves will serve to prove Ohio's hostility toward the negro. By will, John Randolph of Virginia, liberated his 400 slaves. At the same time he provided for their removal to a farm which he had purchased for them in Mercer County, Ohio, a county north of the National Road, where as a rule the negro received better treatment than along the Ohio river. The reception given to these negroes is shown by the following resolutions:

(1) "*Resolved*; That we will not live among negroes; as we have settled here first we have fully determined that we will resist the settlement of blacks and mulattoes in this county to the full extent of our means, the bayonet not excepted.

(2) "*Resolved*; That the blacks of this county be and are hereby respectfully requested to leave the county on or before the first day of March, 1847, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with this request, we pledge ourselves *to remove them* 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must'.

(3) "*Resolved*; That we who are here assembled pledge ourselves not to employ or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any manner whatever or permit them to have any grinding done at our mills after the first day of March next."<sup>27</sup>

The colonization scheme had many adherents in southern Ohio. Judge Burnet of Cincinnati, in 1845 declared "a large proportion of the people of the Miami Valley are friendly to the colonization cause, and if called on would willingly contribute more or less to sustain it."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Report of the American Colonization Society, 1847, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup>Report of the American Colonization Society, 1845, p. 22.



The Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1850 gave opportunity for much discussion of the negro question. The attitude of the southern counties is shown admirably by Mr. Green of Ross county. On a proposal to put a clause in the constitution to the effect that the legislature may authorize the colonization of the blacks in Africa he moved to strike out "may" and insert "shall." He frankly stated that he considered the presence of the blacks a nuisance, "especially to the people of the southern portion of the state and (that) the people of this portion of the state would submit to no tax more cheerfully than that by which they might get rid of this nuisance". He further stated that there was "no division of sentiment" in regard to the question, and that while the northern counties "could not by reason of their prejudice, understand why this is so", yet if they were to "come down and live amongst us they would get some information upon the subject, they would learn this fact: that we are opposed to elevating the blacks to the same rank with ourselves."<sup>29</sup>

On the same day petitions from Jefferson, Brown and Hamilton counties asked for the prohibition of negro immigration. In addition to many petitions<sup>30</sup> bearing the signature of thousands of citizens asking that the doors of the state be closed against the negro, we find the following resolution by a Brown county delegate (Mr. London). Resolved, "That the committee on the elective franchise be instructed to inquire into the expediency of engrafting a clause into the constitution more effectually to prevent the emigration [sic] and settlement of negroes and mulattoes within the territory of this state."<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the repeal of the Black Laws the year before indicated to the convention that the anti-negro sentiment was waning and this caused them to be more conservative on the negro question. A motion to permit the Legislature "to discourage" negro immigration was defeated by a vote of 39 to 34.<sup>32</sup> A motion to allow the negro to serve in the militia lost 22 to 65.<sup>33</sup>

During a debate on a petition which called for equal rights regardless of color, one delegate stated that he considered such

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<sup>29</sup>Debates of Const. Conv. of 1850, Vol II, p. 337.

<sup>30</sup>Debates: Vol. I, p. 458, et seq.

<sup>31</sup>Debates: vol. I, p. 69.

<sup>32</sup>Cited by Hickok, Chapter 11.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

petition "an insult to the freemen of Ohio."<sup>34</sup> Mr. Kennon of Belmont county, presented a petition which asked that persons of African blood be denied the rights of suffrage and office-holding; that negro testimony should be waived in cases involving whites, and also that no part of a negro's property—personal or real—should be exempted in suits where either a white person or the state was involved.<sup>35</sup> From Brown county came a petition, generously signed, asking for the denial of negro testimony in cases where whites were a party. The writer found but one petition from a southern county that might be said to be friendly to the negro. A Greene county petition bearing thirty signatures asked that the property of colored persons be exempted from taxation until the negroes were given the franchise.<sup>36</sup> A motion empowering the Legislature to extend the suffrage at its discretion was defeated by a vote of 11 to 68.<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to note that while there were few favors shown to the negro, yet when it came to the basis of representation, even the southern delegates were in favor of counting him. The basis for representation was to be ascertained by dividing the whole population by one hundred.

Many other examples of petitions that were hostile to the negro could be given.<sup>38</sup> Even the judicious Daniel Drake thought the Legislature should have power to prevent any further entrance of the blacks. The following memorial from Butler county was perhaps the most hostile. "Gentlemen, we the undersigned citizens of Butler county, Ohio [34 in number] respectfully petition your honorable body and pray that provision may be made in the constitution which you are now framing for the removal of all persons of negro or part negro blood from the state of Ohio. And also that such other and further provision may be made by preventing the influx of immigration of negroes as will eventually restore to the people of Ohio a population of free white people and none other." After speaking of "prudence and humanity" and that property rights should be compensated, it concluded, "but whatever may be the consequence to the negroes, the happiness and welfare of

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<sup>34</sup>Debates: vol. I, p. 107.

<sup>35</sup>Debates: vol. I, p. 236.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, p. 298.

<sup>37</sup>Cited by Smith: Liberty and Free Soil Parties, p. 337.

<sup>38</sup>See Debates: vol. I, 458, 11, 5, 140, 158, 339 and 459.

the white race, both as to present and future generations, require the removal, and therefore, it should be done."<sup>39</sup>

Recalling the strength of the anti-slavery movement in 1850, one is apt to agree with a recent writer that "in Ohio, the state where the anti-slavery men might have been expected to make a good fight, there was surprisingly little struggle in the convention of 1850-51."<sup>40</sup> The absence of "a good fight" becomes all the more noticeable when we learn that there were seven Free Soil delegates in the convention.

Notwithstanding the failure to equalize the rights of the whites and blacks, the race hatred was dying slowly yet surely. The compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were influential factors in building up anti-slavery sentiments in Ohio. The Underground Railroad was systematically violating the Fugitive Slave Law. A Scioto county newspaper called the Kansas-Nebraska Bill a "swindle." It stated that the editor had not heard "a single individual express an approval of it."<sup>41</sup> During the discussion of the bill the same paper in calling a mass meeting stated that a large meeting was desired "to remonstrate against that outrage."<sup>42</sup> Upon the passing of the bill its wrath burst out anew upon the Ohio men who had supported the measure.<sup>43</sup>

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## COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

Physiographic and other conditions determined that the Ohio Valley should be of great commercial importance. The valley possessed raw materials in abundance; the tariff stimulated manufacturing; the Ohio and its tributaries furnished the means of transportation, and the South into which this natural highway led—the market for the finished product.

In fact, the commercial interests of southern Ohio were furthered by the expansion of slavery with its specialized production of cotton which created markets for food products and manufactured articles. Thus free labor in the North was ac-

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<sup>39</sup>Debates: vol. I, p. 191.

<sup>40</sup>Smith: Liberty and Free Soil Parties, p. 236.

<sup>41</sup>Scioto Gazette, Chillicothe, O., Jan. 28, 1854.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid, Mar. 14.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, See issue of May 30.



celerated by the extension of slave labor in the South, and the steamboat as a medium served the economic interests of both sections. Several prominent writers of the day frankly admitted that southern Ohio was benefitted by slavery. Caleb Atwater states that the people of Cincinnati "were extremely reluctant to take a hostile attitude toward the South. Continued social and commercial relations,—visits, intermarriages, friendships and commercial interests—make her people feel as if those beyond the river were her kin."<sup>44</sup> In the same strain writes James Parton: "Cincinnati was the Old Hunker's paradise. Separated from a slave state only by a river a third of a mile wide, with her leading families connected by marriage with those of Virginia, Kentucky and Maryland, and her business men having important relations with the South, there was no city—not even Baltimore—that was more saturated with the spirit of Hunkerism—that horrid blending of vanity and avarice which made the Northern people equal sharers in the guilt of slavery while taking the lion's share of the profit."<sup>45</sup> Professor Hart tells us that in many respects "Cincinnati was a southern city on free soil; the southern buyer gladdened the heart of the merchant; the southern traveler and his family took the best rooms in the hotels; and in times of crisis southern sympathy for slavery was visible in the newspapers."<sup>46</sup>

In order to maintain this close relationship, abolition sentiment had to be throttled. Wendell Phillips was driven from the stage in Pike's Opera House, but the same people permitted William L. Yansey, the fire-eater of Alabama, "to utter the most bitter disloyal tirade, with threats against the north, without a whisper of dissent from an audience of three thousand."<sup>47</sup> As early as 1826 Cincinnati was becoming a summer resort for wealthy planters of Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi. "It may be supposed," say Drake & Mansfield, "that the period is not remote when many of the wealthy planters and professional gentlemen of the South will have their summer villas within the environs of Cincinnati." It is pointed out that those who do not wish to be without the luxury of their slaves

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<sup>44</sup>Atwater: History of Ohio, p. 344.

<sup>45</sup>Atlantic Monthly; Aug., 1867, p. 232.

<sup>46</sup>Hart: Chase (Am. St. Sr.), p. 14.

<sup>47</sup>Howe: Hist. Coll. of Ohio, vol. I, p. 765.

may reside in Covington, Kentucky, and still enjoy the advantages of the city.<sup>48</sup>

The magnitude of the trade between Cincinnati and vicinity and the South may be seen from the following table, which shows the destination of her exports in 1850.<sup>49</sup>

Commodity.	To New Orleans.	Other Down R. Ports.	Up R. Ports.
Beef bbls.....	19319	68	314
Beef tcs.....	8677	8	657
Butter bbls.....	1850	867	2
Cheese.....	69278	48432	2165
Flour bbls.....	281609	95943	7719
Lard bbls.....	22854	117	3277
Whisky bbls.....	140661	56164	31231
Pork hhds.....	19044	1313	8809
Pork bbls.....	112622	1050	3801

The export trade of Cincinnati with the South remained quite active down to 1860. However by the middle fifties railroad connection with the East turned a large share of her exports eastward.

The importation of southern staples into Cincinnati increased greatly during the decade preceding the war. In 1850 the value of imported cotton was 385 thousand dollars; in 1860 it reached 4525 thousand. The value of sugar imported into Cincinnati increased from 1.6 million dollars in 1850 to 4.2 millions in 1860.<sup>50</sup>

There were several resemblances between southern Ohio and the Blue Grass region of Kentucky,—so much so that one is inclined to think that if natural conditions had prevailed both would have had the same domestic institutions. In fact it was *law* alone that made one slave and the other free.

One point of resemblance is found in the size of the farms. We expect to find many large farms,—plantations in the slave states, but in the free states there was a strong tendency for the older sections to become regions of small farms. In spite of the fact that southern Ohio was settled earlier than the upper part of the state, we find it containing a relatively larger share of the large farms. The census of 1860 showed that the state

<sup>48</sup>Drake and Mansfield: Cin. in 1826, p. 36.

<sup>49</sup>Hunt: Merchant's Magazine, vol. XXV, p. 488.

<sup>50</sup>See Appendix B.

had 485 farms containing from 500 to 1000 acres each, and 112 farms of over 1000 acres each. The 35 counties of this section—less than half the area of the state—contained 53% of the 500 acre farms and 67% of those containing 1000 acres or more.<sup>51</sup> As might be anticipated, much grazing and stock raising was carried on in this section. Of the counties which had live stock valued at a million dollars or more in 1860 one-half of them are found south of the National Road.<sup>52</sup>

Another point of resemblance between both banks of the Ohio lay in the culture of tobacco. This industry grew enormously during the decade preceding the war. In 1850 the state crop was 10½ million pounds; in 1860 it was 25 million pounds more than one-half of which was raised in three counties of our section.<sup>53</sup> To raise so much tobacco, required many laborers, a part of which was furnished by the slaveholders of Kentucky and other neighboring states. In the language of another, "numbers of slaves, as many as two thousand it was sometimes supposed, were hired in Southern Ohio from Virginia and Kentucky, chiefly by farmers."<sup>54</sup> This refers to a period "somewhere between 1830 and 1836." After that time there was a changed feeling on that question.<sup>55</sup>

In the middle thirties Cincinnati planned to further her commercial hold upon the South by means of a railroad connecting that city with Charleston, South Carolina. Robert Y. Hayne was chairman of a railroad convention at Knoxville in 1836 to consider the project, but the panic of 1837 brought affairs to a standstill, and little more is heard of it.<sup>56</sup>

Other illustrations of the commercial relation between southern Ohio and the South might be given, but enough has been given to prove that "the most distinctive characteristic of Cincinnati's commerce in the ante-bellum days was her great trade with the South."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Compiled from Census 1860, vol. on agr., p. 211.

<sup>52</sup>Compiled from census 1860, vol. on Agr., p. 113-115.

<sup>53</sup>Monroe, Montgomery and Noble; census 1860.

<sup>54</sup>King's Ohio. (Commonwealth series), p. 364.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Goodwin: Growth of Ohio, Cin. Univ. Stud. 1906, p. 118.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid, p. 91.



## RELIGIOUS RELATIONS.

We have seen how the question of negro slavery in a large manner determined the social, political and commercial activity of this section; it now remains to show that the slave question was a known quantity in the religious affairs of the same people.

No Methodist church in Cincinnati in 1841 would permit the Western Methodist Anti-slavery convention to assemble under its roof.<sup>58</sup> The split in the Methodist church in 1844 was caused solely by slavery, while the schism in the Presbyterian church in 1838 had doctrinal disputes as well as slavery for its causes. A sketch of the Synod of Ohio after giving various reasons for the separation continues, "a far more fruitful cause may be found in the discussions of an intensely exciting character on the subject of slavery. Here extreme views met, and the determination on the one side to have the subject considered and decided action taken against the evil, and on the other to shut it out entirely and to frown upon those who introduced it had not a little to do in preparing the latter party especially for an early separation."<sup>59</sup> Eight years earlier the Synod of Cincinnati had resolved that slavery was "a heinous sin and scandal."<sup>60</sup> The schism in the Lane Theological Seminary and the establishment of Oberlin College is too familiar to need attention here.<sup>61</sup>

The congregational churches were more active in their denunciation of slavery. For example, the Baptists of the Miami Association in 1847 resolved that slavery is "in opposition to the revealed will of God, against the law of nature, inimical to the principles of social organization and alike destructive to national prosperity, individual rights and the prosperity of our free institutions."<sup>62</sup> The same meeting pledged itself "to use all lawful means" to remove an evil of such magnitude from our beloved country."

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<sup>58</sup>Cincinnati Gazette, Oct., 1841.

<sup>59</sup>Hist. Sketch of the Synod of Ohio 1838 to 1868, p. 5-6.

<sup>60</sup>Synod Minutes 1830.

<sup>61</sup>See Hart's Chase (Am. St. series), pp. 38-44.

<sup>62</sup>Minutes of Miami Assoc. of Regular Baptists.

## THE CALL TO ARMS.

The record of Ohio in the Civil War is one of which any state might be proud. During the war the state was called upon to furnish 306,322 men; the number furnished was 310,654, besides some colored troops which enlisted in Massachusetts regiments and some troops which filled Kentucky's quota, so it is safe to say that Ohio gave the nation a third of a million men to put down the rebellion.<sup>63</sup> And what is ever more cause for pride is the fact that of this vast multitude of men, but 8750 were drafted.

After discussing the relation between the river counties and the South, Mr. Reid states that above the National Road "different views prevailed, and the people tracing their ancestry to Puritan rather than Virginia stock, cherished different feelings, but the southern half of the state being more populous and more influential long controlled the elections and inspired the temper of the government and the legislation."<sup>64</sup>

As late as April, 1861, the Legislature was quite conciliatory with the South. Even after the firing upon Fort Sumter, on a motion to vote a million dollars to arm the state, several legislators agreed with Judge Key, who thought the war to be an "unwarranted declaration" against seven "sister states." He protested vigorously against the policy announced by President Lincoln and declared it to be the dawn of a "military despotism", yet since he opposed secession he must stand by the stars and stripes. In the same anguish of spirit spoke a Butler county representative. He said to vote for the bill would be the most painful act of his life, "but there was only one course left; . . . he could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag and stand by it to the end."<sup>65</sup>

Party opposition broke quickly in the senate and the million dollar bill was passed with but one dissenting vote.<sup>66</sup> But in the House party opposition was harder to overcome, and a caucus was called by the Democratic members. On April 18th., however, the House passed the bill unanimously. In discussing

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<sup>63</sup>Whitelaw Reid: *Ohio in the War*, vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid*, vol. I, p. 17.

<sup>65</sup>Reid: vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>66</sup>A Scioto Co. Senator: His constituency repudiated his action and asked him to change his vote.

the bill Devore of Brown county said that he regarded "the interests of the country south of the Ohio river as well as north of it."<sup>67</sup>

As late as April 5, 1861, the people of Cincinnati allowed three cannon to pass through the city unmolested, although they were billed for the "Southern Confederacy."<sup>68</sup> The day before the firing upon Fort Sumter the citizens allowed a fugitive slave to be remanded to his owner. But here the story changes. The firing upon Sumter caused a mighty change. "With the firing upon Fort Sumter April 12, 1861, a spirit of vengeance for the insult to the flag seemed at once to take possession of the entire population. All thought of trade and money-getting were swept completely from the minds of the people, as in any northern city."<sup>69</sup>

The records show that Cincinnati and Hamilton county responded nobly to Lincoln's call for troops. Parton says "the war regenerated Cincinnati" and that the energy which previously had been spent in amassing wealth now found new modes of expression.<sup>70</sup>

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## CONCLUSION.

The physiography of the Ohio Valley is a factor not to be over-looked in the consideration of this question. Perhaps the Ohio river was not such a sharp dividing line as many have taken it to be. As Miss Semple points out, a river may be considered as a bridge, binding together the people on its opposite shores. Here, it may be, the historical and geographical aspects of the question conflict somewhat, yet it is an indisputable fact that before the days of the railroad and other artificial means of transportation, the physiographic union of the valley was a force of considerable magnitude tending toward unity of thought and action.

As long as the Whig and Democrat parties remained *truly national parties* they furnished a strong bond of union. It will be recalled that the last cord to break was the Democratic party. While the same might be said of any other section of

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<sup>67</sup>Reid: vol. I, p. 22.

<sup>68</sup>Howe, vol. I, p. 765.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Atlantic Monthly; 1867, p. 232.



the North, yet in Southern Ohio it had a significance not found elsewhere save perhaps in the "Egypt" of Illinois. It was much easier for Cleveland to become anti-slavery than for Cincinnati to do so. Aside from the ancestral traits, there were material forces drawing the two rims of the Ohio valley together. The patrimony of many residents of Southern Ohio consisted of plantations and slaves, thus we find persons of free Ohio vitally interested in the question of slavery. Then too, the mere propinquity of the two peoples must not be lost sight of. Many facts conspired to make it more difficult to condemn slavery in the Virginia Military District than in the Western Reserve.

The commercial relation between the two sections of the valley was perhaps the strongest single force demanding a sort of *laissez faire* idea on the question of slavery. By the middle fifties the Ohio Valley and the East were connected by means of the railroad. There seem to be indications that this new channel of intercourse reflected itself somewhat in the relationship of lower Ohio toward the South. At any rate the people of Cincinnati and vicinity were less considerate of giving offense to the South in the late fifties. The Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act served to arouse many in regard to the evils of slavery, yet throughout the decade there was a very close relation between the two sections.

Practically all of the evidence shows that when the firing upon Fort Sumter brought affairs to a climax, the men of southern Ohio forgot their former temporizing attitude and were ready to do battle to preserve the Union they loved so dearly. The ready response to Lincoln's first call for volunteers and the absence of the draft during the war compel us to conclude that no section of the North did nobler service for the country in a titanic struggle which was to prove that there was no North, no South, but one country—the United States of America.

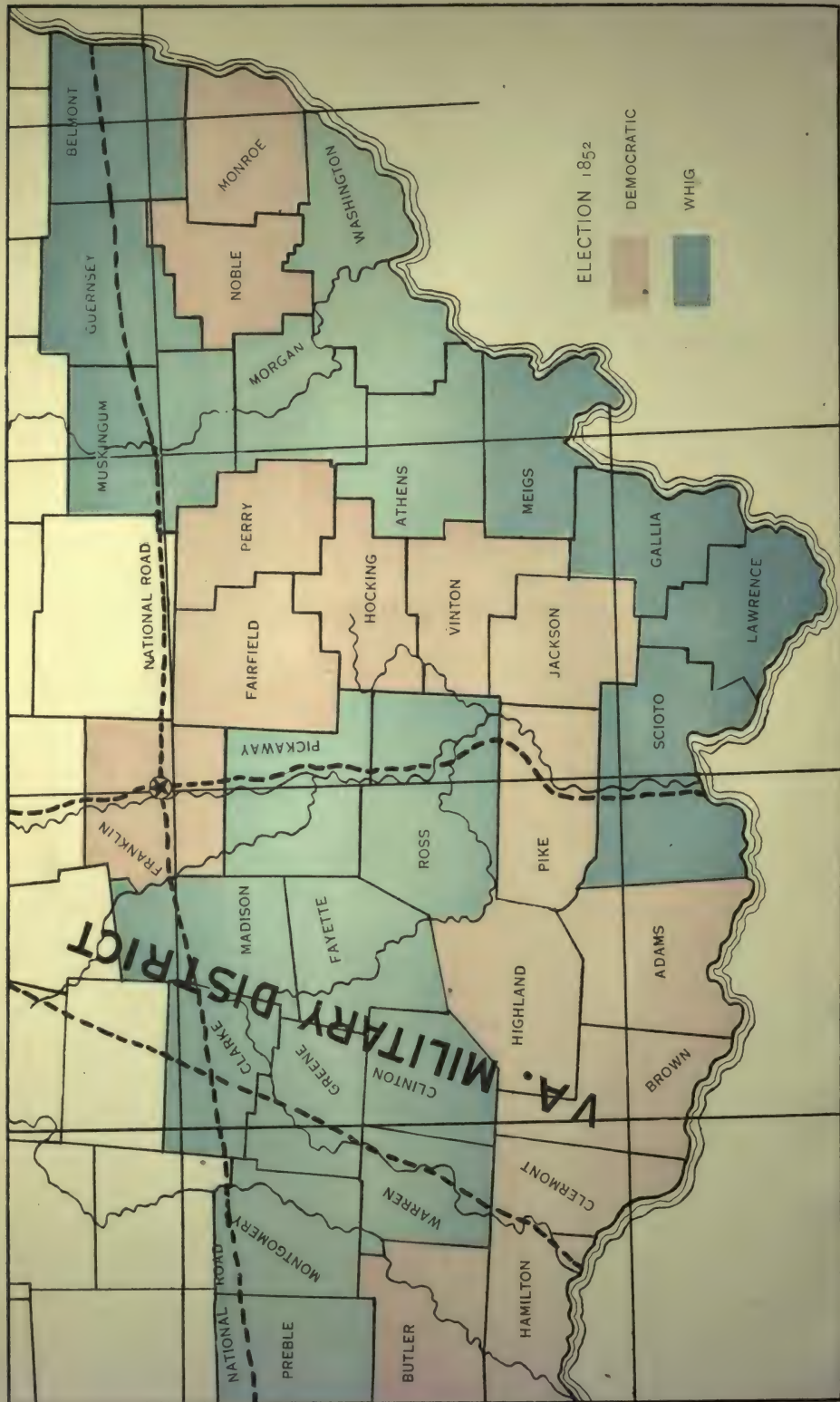


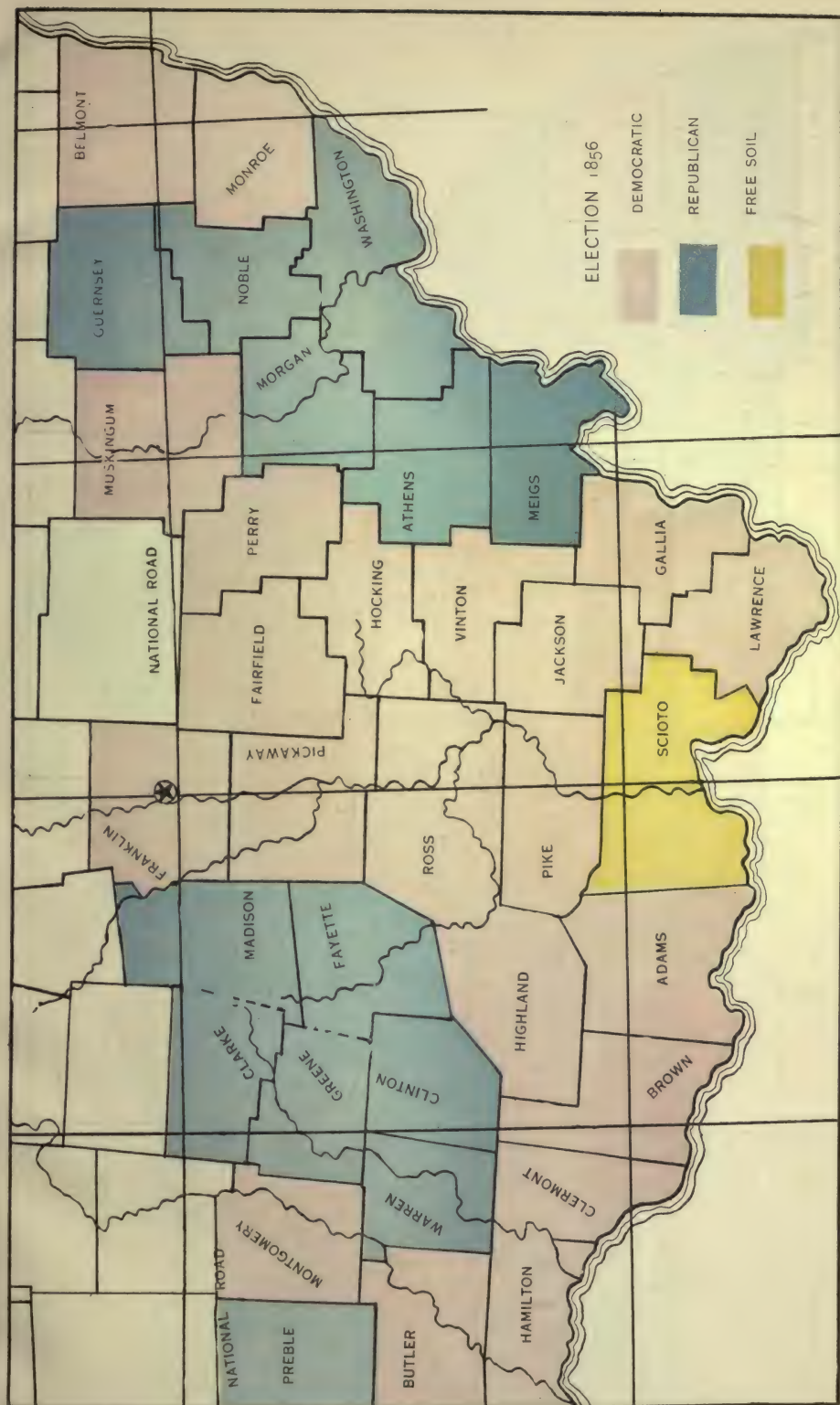
## APPENDIX A.

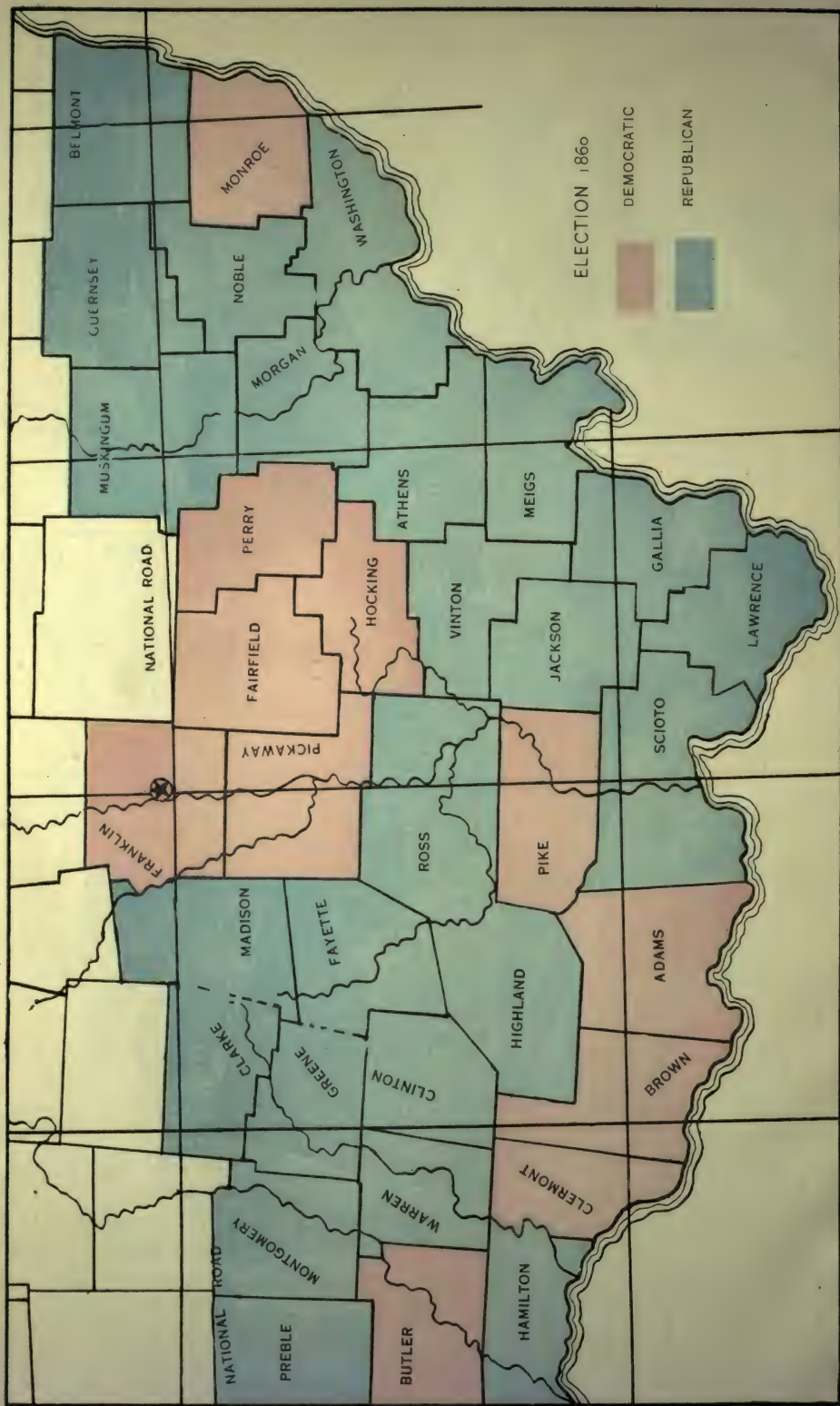
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ELECTION MAPS 1-5.

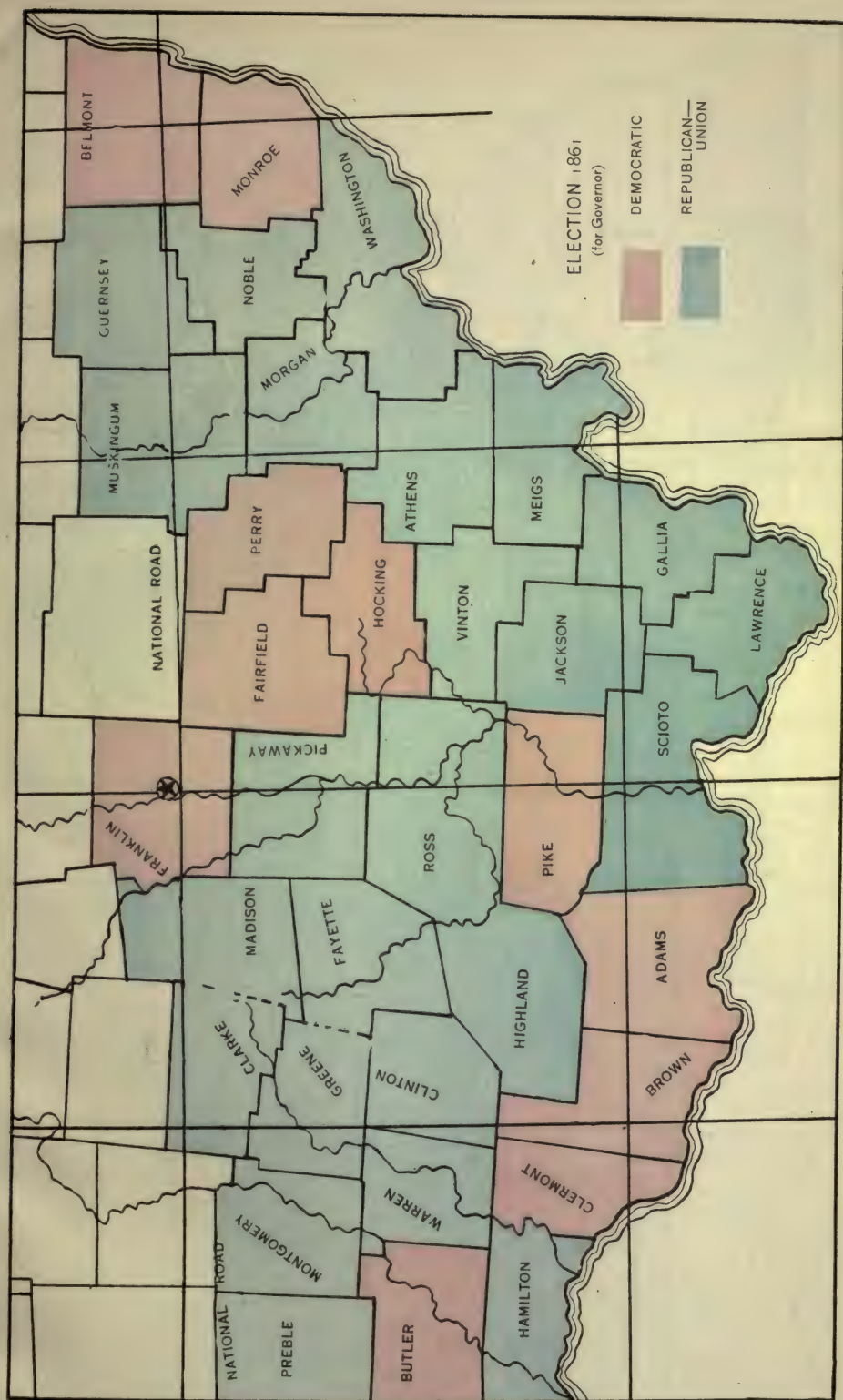


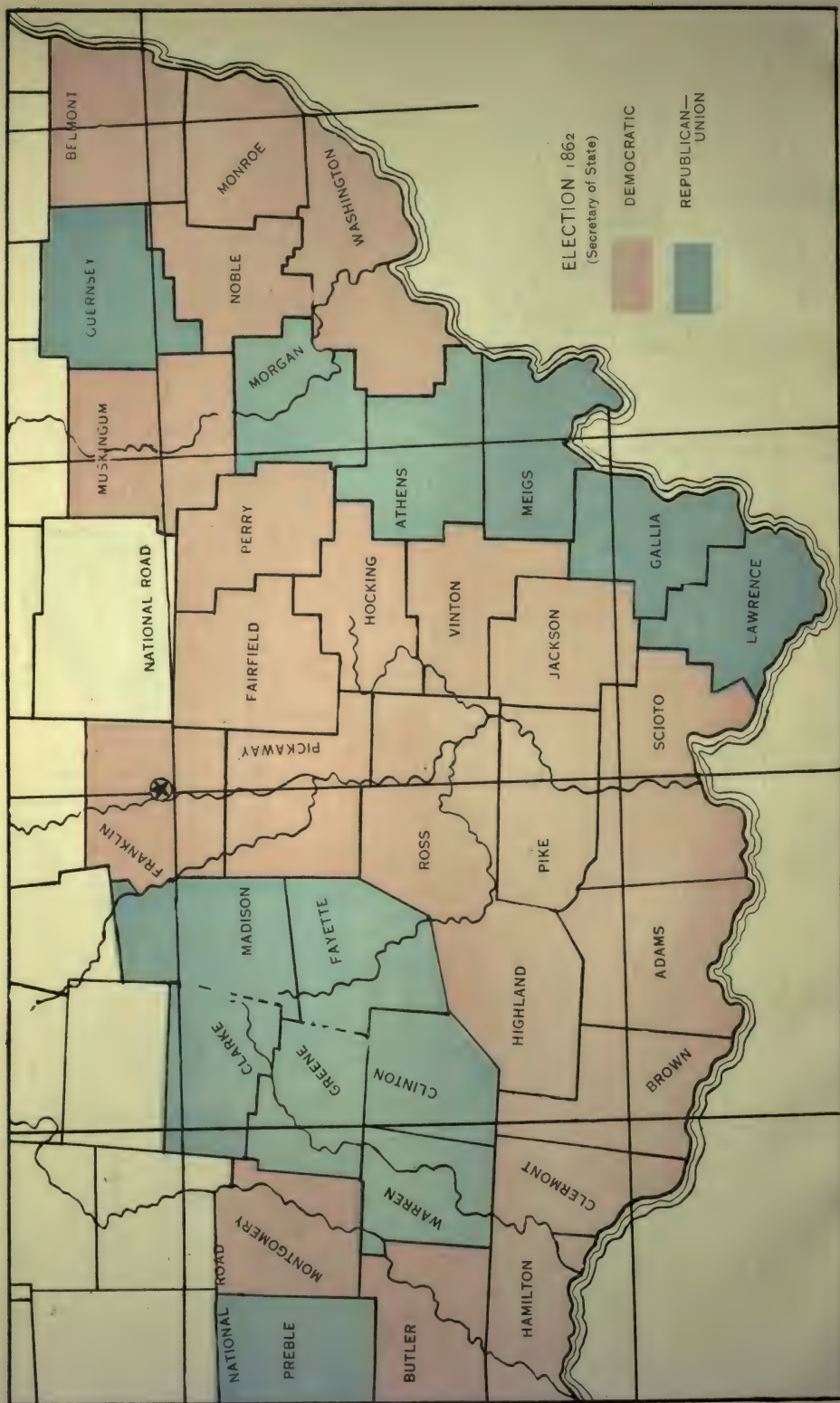












## APPENDIX B.

### DESTINATION OF CINCINNATI EXPORTS.

#### NEW ORLEANS.

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Beef bbls.....	16423	23865	15226	13450
Cheese box.....	44388	52479	41643	37037
Candles box.....	41007	66123	75299	79696
Flour bbls.....	44290	202877	32648	9591
Lard bbls.....	34809	18874	2265	4447
Lard kegs.....	110635	65938	17708	15814
Pork hhds.....	16009	20225	7795	10173
Pork tcs.....	11902	.....	12407	12047
Pork bbls.....	172624	103636	50784	62844
Pork lbs.....	21500	139601	.....	.....
Whisky bbls.....	96712	129111	113547	113397
Butter kegs.....	24445	35890	19395	13917

Other down River markets would greatly add to southern trade, perhaps one-third to one-half.

### DESTINATION OF CINCINNATI EXPORTS.

#### UP RIVER.

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Beef bbls.....	305	675	2730	908
Cheese box.....	1516	3685	2643	5266
Candles box.....	7466	32456	16648	6326
Flour bbls.....	8360	19013	179742	170912
Lard bbls.....	1341	10635	8783	6648
Lard kegs.....	11704	17769	16945	3006
Pork hhds.....	5086	18742	15948	8464
Pork tierces.....	6090	21408	10280	4308
Pork bbls.....	4492	862	24512	8570
Pork lbs.....	228400	888821	376615	277144
Whisky bbls.....	21945	56654	69639	36590
Butter kegs.....	.....	51	43	46

### SOUTHERN IMPORTS TO CINCINNATI (IN THOUSANDS \$).

	1850	1853	1856	1859
Cotton.....	\$385	712	1310	2692
Rice.....	85	95	155	.....
Sugar.....	1600	2711	2915	5001
Molasses.....	594	1359	1108	980
Tobacco.....	.....	1690	1570	152
Hemp.....	168	93	242	67



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Documents Relating to Zachariah Cox

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## FOREWORD.

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Zachariah Cox was a prominent figure in the territorial history of the Old Southwest, between 1785 and 1803 and for a few months achieved a notoriety almost national. The qualities that brought him to the attention of the executives of Mississippi and Tennessee, of our army officers and department of war, and of the Spanish officials in Louisiana, as well, were typical of his time and section. He was land hungry, but so were most of his contemporaries, including the more prominent of his opponents. While most of the latter tried to conceal or minimize their speculations, Cox was determined to realize his to the uttermost. He was ready to override all rights of the Indians, but so were nearly all the frontiersmen of Tennessee and Georgia. Cox planned his encroachments on a more extensive scale than they dared affect. His enemies charged him with meditating a filibustering project against the Spaniards and even attempted to connect him with Blount's Conspiracy. There is no evidence for the latter charge, and while he confesses a desire to explore Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, he is no worse in this respect than his traducer Wilkinson, or Vice President Jefferson. Cox, like their protege Nolan, proposed to do his exploration in person rather than by proxy, and although he conducted an armed party with him he did not propose to proceed before he had obtained definite permission from the Spanish authorities. This was more than Nolan and his mentors contemplated.

It is evident from the succeeding pages that Zachariah Cox proposed something more than mere land speculation, despoliation of the Indians, or filibustering against the Spaniards, popular as all of these pursuits were in the closing decade of the eighteenth century. He aspired to develop a commercial route between the Tennessee and Mobile that should rival the Mississippi. According to the data presented below this plan was entirely feasible as long as human muscle furnished the chief motive power on inland waters. It is true he disregarded the combined opposition of Indian and Spaniard that largely closed

this route for nearly twenty years longer. By the time Wilkinson had occupied Mobile and Jackson had broken the power of the Creeks, the steamboat was at hand to render his proposed route for traffic by stream and portage of less value than one entirely by water. So no such emporium as he dreamed of ever developed in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals. But with the limited agencies of transportation then at hand, his proposal marks him as a daring commercial pioneer rather than a temporizing speculator, while his tables of rates and distances afford interesting data for interior commercial routes.

The antecedents of Mr. Cox are unknown, his literary remains scant and scrappy, and his impress upon contemporary or descendant in the region of his operations, equally fleeting. Yet his plans and methods are so varied and so typical that it seems worth while to republish the most significant documents that illustrate them.

We know that Zachariah Cox was a native of Georgia. He is first mentioned in 1785, when he became involved in a project to found a settlement at the bend of the Tennessee River. Possibly this scheme was part of the general plan to extend Georgia's claim over the western territory that was exemplified in the attempt to organize Bourbon County in the Natchez District, then under Spanish control. In that year the assembly of Georgia passed an act to organize a county on the Tennessee and Cox was sent out by one of the projectors, Colonel Hampton, to explore the region. The project failed because of Indian opposition, but it is probable that Cox at this time saw the commercial advantages of a settlement at this point<sup>1</sup>.

Five years later Cox again appeared in connection with this region, this time as promoter rather than subordinate. He was the head of one of the three corporations that received from the state of Georgia, what were popularly known as the "Yazoo Land Grants." These grants, as later re-enacted, formed the most malodorous, but not necessarily the worst, of our early landgrabs. On December 21, 1789, he and his associates, forming the Tennessee Company, were granted some three and a half million acres, for which they agreed to pay \$46,875. Their purchase was located in the great bend of the Tennessee River, and comprised several of the northern counties of the present

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 46 and Haywood, W. *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, p. 159.



state of Alabama. By a later enactment of January 12, 1790, the grantees were required to forbear from attacking the Indians within this grant and to relieve the state of all expense in maintaining peace with them. The grantees made two small payments, after which the legislature refused to receive others<sup>2</sup>.

The proprietors of the Tennessee Company, among whom was John Sevier, lost little time in hastening the work of colonization. On September 2, 1790, they advertised that "the company would embark from the confluence of the Holston and French Broad rivers, on the 10th of January next." They proposed to settle some 480,000 acres on the south side of the Tennessee. As an inducement they offered "to every family a bounty of five hundred acres each and to every single man, half a bounty."<sup>3</sup> The settlers on the Cumberland welcomed the prospect of this new establishment, hoping that it would act as a barrier against the inroads of the savages, and everything portended the success of the undertaking. But the Indians and the Federal government proved insurmountable barriers in the path of Cox and his followers.

An advance party of eighteen proceeded down the Tennessee and erected a block house on an island at the Muscle Shoals. Soon after their arrival a band of savages visited them, and by threatening to put them to death, caused them to abandon the newly constructed work, which they promptly burned. In the meantime Secretary Knox had informed the President of the project and opposed it on the ground that it would arouse the Indians. Washington thereupon issued a proclamation against this and similar undertakings, in virtue of which the Secretary directed Governor Blount to stop the expedition. The latter accordingly despatched an officer after the company to inform its promoters of the President's proclamation and to warn them that if they did not return the Indians would be "at liberty to act towards them as they might think proper, without offense to the government of the United States;" and that even if the Indians should permit them to settle at Muscle Shoals, the United States would government not<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee*, p. 331; *Amer. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 114; Haskins, in *Papers of the Am. Hist'l Ass'n*, Vol. V, pp. 79, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Haywood, p. 252.



This threat deterred Cox from a second attempt that year. At the next term of the superior court for the Washington District, he and his men were twice indicted, but the grand jury refused to bring in a true bill in either case. Haywood asserts that many of the jurors were already trespassers upon the Cherokee lands and so naturally would not be very hard on a fellow pioneer. At any rate the affair aroused little attention, although in 1792 the Cherokees again protested against a settlement at Muscle Shoals by the Tennessee Company and Secretary Knox proposed a military post at the mouth of Bear's Creek (or Ockochappo) to prevent future aggressions of this sort.<sup>5</sup> Cox's failure in these attempts, as in later instances, was thus largely due to the desire of the Federal Government to protect the Indian lands from encroachment. This policy and the contrary attitude displayed by most settlers in Tennessee, particularly in the eastern portion, constitute the two chief factors in his later career.

A second series of Yazoo grants by the Georgia legislature was the signal for his next move. On January 24, 1795, that body chartered the Tennessee Land Company with a capital of \$60,000. Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher were its chief promoters and the limits of their grant, together with their plan for its disposal, are given in this publication.<sup>6</sup> It was popularly believed that the legislators had a pecuniary interest in the company, and this may account for the prompt subscription to the greater part of the shares issued.

An attempt to forestall the opposition of the federal authorities may be seen in Cox's petition to Congress for a loan to assist in carrying on intercourse with the Indian tribes.<sup>7</sup> At the same time Governor Blount promised to break up the projected settlement in the bend of the Tennessee, if it should be made.<sup>8</sup> In the following December, however, the Legislature of the new state voiced the sentiment of their constituents in a memorial to Congress against extending the boundary between the Cherokee and national territory.<sup>9</sup> The new commonwealth

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<sup>5</sup>*Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 173, 245.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 92.

<sup>7</sup>*Annals* 4th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 822; *Am. State Paps.*, *Pub. Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 129, 130, 881.

<sup>8</sup>Haywood, pp. 455, 456.

<sup>9</sup>*Annals* 5th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 672.

was taking a characteristic frontier attitude against any positive delimitation of Indian country, and its new executive, John Sevier, might be expected to regard with greater favor the schemes of his former associate, Zachariah Cox. Meanwhile the latter had met with partial success in the establishment of a supplementary settlement at Smithland, on the Ohio, between the Tennessee and the Cumberland.<sup>10</sup> To initiate his larger establishment in the bend of the Tennessee he professed a willingness to await federal consent.

The few months after the founding of Smithland constitute the most significant part of Cox's career. From this point we shall let the following pages tell the story, albeit in a haphazard manner. The organization of his force at Smithland, the clandestine passage by Ft. Massac, the visit to New Madrid, the arrest at Natchez, the escape to New Orleans, and the return to Tennessee, are narrated by Cox and by his friends and enemies in confusing detail, from which it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion as to his purposes. Like most of his fellow frontiersmen he adopted lawless methods to carry them out, whatever they were. But certainly the two depositions upon which Governor Sargent relied to make out a case against him fail to substantiate his main accusations. On the other hand Cox's own story and the accompanying testimony is entirely too favorable to himself to be convincing. By combining the two we may infer that Cox was trying, with a pioneer's disregard of Indian and Spanish rights or of federal opposition, to develop lands to which he had a legal, if not moral, claim.

In carrying out this purpose and his accompanying commercial projects, Cox proposed to consult only the physical factors involved and to disregard entirely conventional lines or international obligations. Yet the Spaniards treated him better than his fellow-countrymen. It is the forbearance exercised by the suspicious Gayoso de Lemos, when Cox came to him as a fugitive, that constitutes the strongest point in the latter's favor. If he had really been a filibusterer, he would have met the fate of Philip Nolan or William A. Bowles. So we may relieve him of that charge and exhibit him in what doubtless is his true character—a land-grabbing pioneer, unscrupulous in his methods and unfortunate in the opposition he incurred.

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<sup>10</sup>Consult the following pages, *passim*.



A word with reference to the following documents may not be out of place. The first consists of a seventy-page pamphlet published by Cox himself. The name of Charles Thurston appears on its triple-headed title page, but there is nothing to show how it came into possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society. The copy lacks covers and is somewhat marred. It measures some four by seven inches. After diligent inquiry we have come to the conclusion that the only other copy extant is that in the Library of Congress. Professor C. H. Haskins, of Harvard, in his monograph on the "Yazoo Land Grants," seems to be the only one who has recently made use of it. Even though it affords only a partial view of contemporary affairs it merits wider attention, and this is the justification for the present reprint. The original paging of the pamphlet is inserted in brackets in the text.

While preparing the copy for the press the editor learned through Professor St. George L. Sioussat, that there was some additional material relating to Zachariah Cox in the Tennessee Department of Archives and History, in the Letter Book of Governor John Sevier and related manuscripts. Professor Sioussat courteously arranged with Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Jr., the Assistant Director, to copy these documents for us, and they are herewith reprinted. It is needless to say that this adds much to the value of the publication and places the Society greatly in debt to these gentlemen. We are also indebted to the Library of Congress for information to supplement our mutilated title page and to Dr. Rueben G. Thwaites and others for bibliographic hints. Miss L. Belle Hamlin, the Librarian of the Society, has been very helpful in preparing the copy for the press, while the members of the Board have graciously consented to a publication much beyond the usual size. May the editor be pardoned for adding that there is no immediate family interest in the task he assumed. As the regular index of the QUARTERLY will accompany Volume IX, none will be given with this number.

I. J. C.

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<sup>11</sup>*Papers of the Am. Hist'l Ass'n*, Vol. V, p. 79, *et seq.*



AN ESTIMATE  
OF  
COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES  
BY WAY OF THE  
MISSISSIPPI AND MOBILE RIVERS,  
TO THE  
WESTERN COUNTRY.

PRINCIPLES  
OF A  
COMMERCIAL SYSTEM;  
AND THE  
*Commencement and Progress*  
OF A  
SETTLEMENT  
ON THE  
OHIO RIVER  
TO  
*Facilitate the Same;*  
WITH A  
STATEMENT OF FACTS.

NASHVILLE: PRINTED BY J. M'LAUGHLIN  
M, DCC. XCIX

## PREFACE.

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The unfriendly reports that have been industriously circulated, by certain malevolent characters, respecting a settlement lately established at the mouth of Cumberland on the Ohio river: and the late military abuses, offered to my friends and self, on our late route down the Mississippi, has induced me to submit the following pages to the impartial circle of my fellow citizens: and to my friends in particular: As a justice due them: and as a duty I owe myself, it becomes me now to declare most solemnly, that no part of my proceedings, negociations, or correspondence, has ever been intended, or designed, directly or indirectly, to be inimical to my country: the constitution or laws of it: to prove this my assertion: should it be necessary: hundreds of citizens equally as respectable as any in the western country will appear, who have been, and still are, intimately acquainted with my intentions, and objects.

I further defy any man, or men on earth with truth to say that any part of my transactions, negociations, or correspondence, ever was, or can possibly with propriety, be construed inimical to the true interest of my country; the constitution or laws of it: but to the contrary, as much as any man on earth, I have ever respected & revered them. If upon impartial investigation I am wrong (it is not wilful) I wish to be convinced of it: if in the right, a legal remedy, so as to prevent a future evil of the same nature: is all I ask: I am content to bear my losses with fortitude: it is beyond human reach to repair the injury.

ZACHARIAH COX.

An ESTIMATE of commercial advantages, by way of the Mississippi and Mobile; into various parts of Western North America. From a Pamphlet published by the author at Knoxville, in the year 1797; No. XV, Page 98, corrected from late observation, and experience.

The Mobile Bay, is situate between the latitude of 30 degrees 20 minutes and 31 d. 10m. North; and between the longitude of 87 degrees 35 minutes, and 87 degrees 55 minutes West from the meridian of London; it makes an excellent and safe harbour; the inlet is formed by Dauphin Island on the west—and a peninsula, or point of land extending from the main on the east;—through which may be carried three fathom water into the Bay.

Into this Bay falls Tombigby River, descending from N. N. W. and Allabamma River descending from N. E. and although intersected with Islands, sea vessels can pass up the former to latitude 31 deg. 30 minutes, being the North point of the flowing tide. Into Tombigby falls Sipseys River descending from N. N. E. which as well as Tombigby, is navigable for boats of fifty tons burthen, as high as the latitude of 33 deg. 45 min. from the two last points to the main river Tennessee, is about fifty five miles, and to the nearest navigable branches of Tennessee (extending from the lower and upper end of the Muscle Shoals) about thirty-five miles: the country between the two points is level and well calculated for carriage.

From the head of Mobile Bay to the head navigation of Tombigby and Sipseys river is about three hundred miles by water. A boat of twenty-five tons burthen, can pass and repass in thirty days [4] with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 300 dollars.

The distance from the head navigation of Mobile waters to the nearest navigable branches of Tennessee river, being but thirty five miles: a ton weight carried to and from the two points, will cost about 20 dollars; 25 tons weight, will amount to 500 dollars.



## X

Total expence on the carriage of 25 tons, from the most Southern navigable branches of Tennessee to Mobile bay 500 dollars.

From Knoxville on Holstein river to the head navigation of the South streams of Tennessee, nearest Mobile Bay by water, is about 350 miles: time of passage to and from the two points, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 33 days, with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 330 dollars.

Total expence on 25 tons weight from Mobile bay to Knoxville and back again 1,330 dollars.

## W

From Philadelphia to Knoxville is computed to be 750 miles; carriage of 25 tons weight, to and from the two points, will cost the sum of 10,714 dollars.

[5] In favor of the Mobile commerce on every 25 tons weight to Knoxville 9,384 doll.

From Nashville on Cumberland river, to the head navigation of the South streams of Tennessee, nearest Mobile Bay, is about 460 miles, by water; time of passage to and from said ports with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 45 days; with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 450 dollars.

From Mobile Bay to the nearest navigable waters of Tennessee river as per letter X 800 dollars.

Total expence on 25 tons weight from Mobile Bay to Nashville 1,250 dolls.

## Y

From the nearest atlantic ports to Pittsburgh, is about 300 miles; the carriage of 25 tons weight to and from the two points, will cost 5,000 dolls.

From Pittsburgh to Nashville on Cumberland by water; estimated to be about 1,300 miles; a boat of 25 tons burthen, will pass to and from the said ports in about 130 days; with the assistance of ten hands at one dollar per day each, is 1,300 dollars.

## R

Total expence on 25 tons weight, from the atlantic port to Nashville 6,300 dolls.

[6] In favor of the Mobile commerce on every 25 tons burthen to Nashville 5,050 dolls.

From the Rapids of Ohio river, to the head navigation of the South streams of Tennessee, nearest Mobile Bay, is about 670 miles by water; time of passage to and from said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 66 days; with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 660 dollars.

To the navigable branches of Tennessee, as per letter X 800 dollars.

Total expence on 25 tons weight, from Mobile Bay, to the falls of Ohio, and back again, is 1,460 dolls.

## S

From the falls of Ohio, to Pittsburgh, is about 700 miles—time of passing to and from the said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 70 days—with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 700 dollars.

To Pittsburgh as per letter Y 5,000 dolls.

Total expence on 25 tons weight from the nearest atlantic ports, to the falls of Ohio and back, 5,700 dolls.

In favor of the Mobile commerce 4,340 dolls.

## V

From the mouth of Mississippi, to the mouth of Ohio by water; is computed to be about 1,000 miles—[7] time of passage to and from said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 100 days—with the assistance of 20 hands, at one dollar per day each, is 2,000 dolls.

From the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, to the head navigation of the South streams of Tennessee river, nearest Mobile Bay, is about 300 miles, time of passage to and from said points, will be about 30 days; with the assistance of 10 hands, at one dollar per day, is 300 dollars.

From Mobile Bay, to the nearest navigable waters of Tennessee, as per letter X 800 dollars.

Total expence on 25 tons weight, from Mobile Bay to the mouth of Ohio and back again. 1,100 dolls.

In favor of the Mobile commerce; owing to the turbulency, of the Mississippi current 900 dollars.

From the mouth of Ohio river to Knoxville, in the State of Tennessee, is about 650 miles—time of passing to and from the said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about sixty five days; with the assistance of ten hands at one dollar per day each, is 650 dollars.

From the mouth of Mississippi, as per letter V 2,000 dolls.

Total expence from the mouth of Mississippi, to Knoxville, on 25 [8] tons weight, is 2,650 dolls.

Expences on 25 tons weight, from Philadelphia to Knoxville, as per letter W 10,714 dolls.

In favor of the Mississippi commerce, on 25 tons weight 8,064 dolls.

From the mouth of Ohio river, to Nashville on Cumberland, in the State of Tennessee, is about 250 miles—time of passing to and from the said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 25 days; with the assistance of 10 hands at one dollar per day, is 250 dollars.

To the mouth of the Mississippi, as per letter V 2,000 dolls.

Total expence, on 25 tons weight, from the mouth of Mississippi to Nashville, is 2,250 dolls.

From Phila. to Nashville as per letter R 6,300 dolls.

In favor of the Mississippi commerce on every 25 tons weight. 4,050 dolls.

From the mouth of Ohio river, to the rapids, is about 475 miles—time of passage to and from said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 47 days; with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is 470 dolls.

To the mouth of Mississippi, as per letter V 2,000 dolls.

Total expence from the mouth of Mississippi, to the rapids of Ohio and back again, will be 2,470 dolls.



[9] From Philadelphia, to the rapids of Ohio, as per letter S	5,700 dolls.
In favor of the Mississippi commerce	3,230 dolls.

## T

From the mouth of Ohio to Fort Pitt; distance about 1,200 miles—time of passing to and from said ports, with a boat of 25 tons burthen, will be about 120 days: with the assistance of 10 hands, at one dollar per day each, is

1,200 dolls.

From the mouth of Ohio, to the mouth of Mississippi, and back again, as per letter V

2,000 dolls.

Total expence from the mouth of Mississippi, to Fort Pitt, and back on 25 tons weight, is

3,200 dolls.

From Philadelphia, as per letter Y

5,000 dolls.

In favor of the Mississippi commerce on 25 tons burthen, from the mouth of Mississippi to Pittsburg and back again

1,800 dolls.

In the foregoing calculation, I have estimated the passage of boats down the respective rivers, at but twenty miles per day; the common distance is from 50 to 75 miles per day; consequently there will be a great surplus of time, in favor of the Mississippi, and Mobile commerce.

From the head navigation, of the South streams of Tennessee; nearest Mobile Bay; to Pittsburgh by water, is about 1360 miles; a boat of 25 tons burthen, will pass in about 68 days, with the assistance of ten hands, at one dollar per day each, is

680 dolls.

Expence from Mobile Bay, to the head of the [10] nearest navigable branches of Tennessee, and back again as per letter X eight hundred dollars: one half,

400 dollars.

Total expence on the carriage of 25 tons, weight, from Mobile Bay, to Pittsburgh.

1,080 dolls.

Expence of carriage on 25 tons wt. from Philadelphia, to Pittsburgh, and back again, as per letter Y 5,000 dollars:—one half

2,500 dolls.

In favor of Mobile commerce, on the carriage of 25 tons weight, to Pittsburgh; against the Philadelphia commerce

1,420 dolls.

Expenditure on 25 tons weight, from the mouth of Mississippi, to Pittsburgh and back again, as per letter V and T 3,200 dollars: one half for the total expenditure to Pittsburgh 1,600 dolls.

In favor of the Mississippi commerce on the carriage of every 25 tons weight against the Philadelphia commerce, to Pittsburgh 900 dolls.

In this calculation, I have estimated the carriage from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, at 5 dollars per hundred weight<sup>1</sup>—but the general price has been from seven to ten dollars per hundred wt. which would be against the Pittsburgh commerce; greatly in favor of the Mississippi and Mobile—consequently all the Western country, South of Pittsburgh, must receive great advantages by the Mississippi—and particularly Mobile commerce.

The objection by mariners to commercial intercourse with New Orleans, has been generally attributed, to the intricate navigation of the river [11] Mississippi—but from late observation, I can venture to assert, that those obstacles will be readily removed—by an accurate knowledge of the river, and particular seasons, calculated by nature for navigating of it.

From about the first of April, until the first of July—the river Mississippi, overflows its banks, which renders the navigation of sea vessels up to New Orleans very intricate—but in all other seasons of the year, the current below Orleans is gentle—and what will ever facilitate the ascent of the river, are the continual South and Southeasterly winds which prevails, during the Spring, summer, and autumn months; extending their influence, considerably above the junction of Ohio and Mississippi.

The annual imports, and exports; to Washington or Hamilton District, State of Tennessee—from the best information I have been able to collect; are about 250 tons: to Mero District,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In 1805 the prices reported for the transfer of Wilkinson's baggage to Pittsburgh are: from Washington, \$6.00 per 100 pounds; from Baltimore, \$4.50, and from Philadelphia, \$5.50. *Annals* 11 Cong. 1st & 2nd Sess. Pt. 2, App. p. 2352.

<sup>2</sup>The Hamilton District was created by an act of the Tennessee Assembly in 1796 (Phelan, James, *History of Tennessee*, p. 200). The Miró district comprises the region centering around Nashville, and was set off by Governor Blount in November, 1790. It was named in honor of Esteván Miró, then governor of Louisiana, who regarded the act not merely as a compliment to himself, but as an indication of the Spanish sympathies of its inhabitants. Cf. Haywood, William, *Tennessee*, pp. 249, 250.

State of Tennessee, about 200 tons: and to Kentucky, about 750 tons; consequently the annual revenue, to the Western country would be; From the Mobile commerce.

To Mero District, State of Tennessee	40,400 dolls.
To Washington District do.	93,840 dolls.
To Kentucky,	130,200 dolls.
Total revenue the Western country would derive from Mobile commerce	264,440 dolls.

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From the Mississippi commerce.

To Washington District State of Tennessee	80,640 dolls.
To Mero District do.	32,400 dolls.
To Kentucky [12]	96,900 dolls.
Total revenue the Western country would derive from the Mississippi commerce	209,940 dolls.

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All Western America, in the United States, South of latitude 41 degrees North—would in proportion, receive similar advantages, with those above stated—independent of what, would naturally result, from the great object of exportation—which must be highly productive to any country, possessing the advantages, of such immense sources of wealth, as are here found.

It is certain for many years, the exports will pass down the river Mississippi—but the imports, if the avenue was admitted to be opened, would now pass by way of Mobile and Tennessee—and the various streams with which the latter communicates.

From correct information I am induced to believe that with but little expence, the communication, between the navigable waters of Mobile and Tennessee, may be shortened, at least 10, perhaps 15 miles: consequently it cannot be improbable that the day will be, when the commerce of far greater part of Western America—North of the junction of Ohio and Mississippi, will centre to this grand mart, formed by nature.<sup>3</sup>

To me it appears strange, that any government should deem it good policy, to withhold from a part of her citizens, the use

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<sup>3</sup>It is probable that the coming of the steamboat largely prevented the realization of this prophecy, for it emphasized the all-water routes rather than one by rivers and portages combined.



of streams formed for their benefit; while the nations having claims on its borders, remain unopposed to its exercise.<sup>4</sup>

The opening this avenue of commerce, could not be injurious to the natives; but on the contrary [13] they would be highly benefitted, and might soon be taught to feel, the many advantages resulting to them from the measure; be doubly rewarded in the labour of their industry—increase in wealth—and grow into the love of order.<sup>5</sup>

Early as the year 1785,<sup>6</sup> on my route through this Western country; I was struck with the practicability of a Commercial Communication, by way of the Mobile and Tennessee, as well as the Mississippi—those objects, together with a desire of settling in a country, calculated as well to insure agricultural advantages, as great commercial pursuits; has been the spur of my exertions to obtain the lands, adjacent the most probable points, of commercial communication; to facilitate the measure on legal and public principles; the following plan has been suggested, and entered into by sundry citizens: which was enclosed to his Excellency John Sevier, Esq. the 31st of August, 1797, in answer to his interrogatory letter to me, the 20th of said month:<sup>7</sup>—from a pamphlet published at Knoxville, A. D. 1797, by the author.<sup>8</sup> Page 8, marked letter H.

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<sup>4</sup>The statement implies that the Spaniards might favor the free use of the Mobile and its tributaries by the prospective settlers. Such was not the case, however, as was proved by fifteen years of controversy between the American and Spanish officials, before the former occupied Mobile in 1813. The resentment aroused among the people of Tennessee by the opposition of Indians and Spaniards to trading through what is now Alabama is shown by the issues of the *Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette* (Nashville) for August 10 and 17, 1810.

<sup>5</sup>The development of this region, as in the case of our other successive areas of expansion has been at the expense of the natives.

<sup>6</sup>This statement seems to be the basis for determining the first definite date in Cox's career. Cf. *Introduction*, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup>See p. 96.

<sup>8</sup>Inquiries at Nashville and other possible centers have failed to disclose the existence of this pamphlet. The portion by Cox reprinted in this issue seems to be the only part now available.

## H

### Articles for the Establishment of the Mississippi, and Mobile Commercial Company.

#### Article I.

This association shall be stiled, and known, by the name of the Mississippi, and Mobile, commercial company; and the proprietor, or proprietors thereof, to be those, who shall first advance the company's stock of merchandise, or capital; giving [14] to all respectable citizens approved of by the company, an equal privilege as a proprietor, to advance and hold in the said stock, an interest to the full amount of money, goods, wares, merchandize, or produce, by him or them respectively advanced; provided that always every                      Dollars, and not a less sum, shall entitle the proprietor, or proprietors thereof, to one vote or action in the said company.

Art. 2. The proprietors of the Mississippi and Mobile commercial company, or a majority of them shall have the sole power of managing all the affairs and business of the said company: until the stock, or capital shall amount to one hundred thousand Dollars: when the proprietors shall elect from amongst themselves five representatives, or members who shall, or a majority of them, compose a house with full power to co[n]stitute the firm of the *Mississippi* and *Mobile* commercial company; to correspond and form connections with houses, individual merchants, and citizens, foreign and at home; to establish warehouses and subordinate stores, wherever may appear most advantageous; to contract for the receival and disposal of all monies, goods, wares, merchandise, and produce, that may become the property of said company; to appoint all Factors, Agents, Secretaries, [Secretaries—N]<sup>9</sup> and Clerks, that may be necessary to manage the company's business abroad, and at home to draw from the company's capital, funds sufficient to manage, and carry on their business; to make such rules, as may be necessary for the regulation of their own members; to call a meeting of the proprietors, whenever necessary; to manage all the affairs and business of the said company, and to adjourn from time to time.

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<sup>9</sup>This is the spelling of the copy in the Tennessee archives. Further variations will be indicated in brackets with the designation "N." Professor St. George L. Sioussat kindly compared these few pages for me.

Art. 3. For every 20,000 [15] dollars, or the value thereof in goods, wares, merchandise, or produce; delivered to the house of the Mississippi and Mobile commercial company; and added to their capital, the proprietor, or proprietors thereof: shall be entitled to one representative, or member in the said house, who shall be reciprocal, and have equal power in every respect, with any one of the members first chosen.

Art. 4. The house and capital, of the Mississippi and Mobile commercial company, shall be established on the southeast side of Ohio, between the Rivers Cumberland and Tennessee; where the members of the said company, shall annually on the first monday in [day of—N.] January and oftener if required convene, and there transact all the business of the company, until such establishment be altered by order of [omitted—N.] the house.

Art. 5. Any person, or persons who shall agreeable to these articles, throw into the company's stock, monies, goods, wares, merchandize, or produce; shall receive from the house a bill to the following effect.

The bearer hereof A B having delivered to us  
the sum of ——— dollars, This our bill certifies,  
that the same at the request of the said  
A. B. is added to the Mississippi and Mobile  
commercial company's stock[,] and shall entitle  
him the said A. B. or his heirs, to all the profits,  
privileges, and advantages, stipulated in the  
articles of the said company.

Art. 6. Gold, and silver coin, shall be the staple valuation of all goods, wares, merchandise, and produce, advanced to be added to the company's [16] stock; receivable at the current market prices.

Art. 7. All questions, and business of the company that may come before the house, shall be determined by a majority of the members then present; which decision shall be binding; and also all elections, and business that may properly come before the proprietors, shall be determined by a majority of votes or actions.

Art. 8. All Factors, Agents, Secretaries, [y's—N.] Clerks, or other officers, employed by the Mississippi and Mobile commercial company, to carry on their business, shall previous to their entering into the employment of the company, be qualified,



and give to the house in behalf of the company, satisfactory bond and security for the faithful performance of their duty; and shall be allowed to continue in office during good behaviour; as also shall the members of said company.

Art. 9. Any one of the Members, Factors, Agents, Secretaries, [y's—N.] or Clerks, or other officers of the company employed in their business neglecting their duty, or acting improperly, shall be liable to impeachment; and if on a fair trial they are found guilty of the crime, or neglect, they so stand charged with, shall be expelled from office;—and not allowed to hold an interest, directly or indirectly in said company; and shall be subject to such further punishment as the civil law will inflict.

Art. 10. All impeachments shall be tried by [two of the members of the House, and three of the Proprietors chosen by the person impeached, to form a Board for that purpose—N.] the house of the Mississippi, and Mobile commercial company; whose decision on any subject that properly comes under their notice, shall be final.

Art. 11. The proceedings of the house, and all mercantile books, shall whenever required, be open, and subject to the perusal of share holders, in the said company; except in such particular cases, [17] where the private proceedings, and negotiations of the house, shall for the time present require secrecy [security—N.].

Art. 12. To prevent impositions, no transfer of bills, or shares in this commercial company, shall be considered legal; unless it meets with the approbation of the house; in which case the house shall take in the old bill, or certificate for such share, or shares, and cause a new one to be issued, to [the] [omitted—N] person in whose favor such transfer is made.

Art. 13. At the expiration of twelve months from the time the house of this company is established, they shall publish an accurate statement of the stock on hand, the neat [sic] [neet—N] profits on shares—and also a like publication, at the expiration of every twelve months thereafter, at which [last mentioned—N] periods, the shareholders shall draw from the company's stock, their respective proportions of profits.

Art. 14. Vacancies that may happen by death, or resignation, of any of the members, shall be filled by an election of the house, of some one of the proprietors of the said company—

untill [until—N] it shall be convenient for the proprietors to elect a new member to fill such vacancy.

Art. 15. Neither the persons [person—N] nor the private property of any of the proprietors members or shareholders in this commercial company, shall in any manner whatever be subject to, or liable for any losses or misfortunes of stock or trade—any further than allowing out of their respective proportions of neat [sic] [neet—N] profits, a sufficiency to make good such loss or misfortunes, to be appropriated by the house.

Art. 16. At the expiration of                      years, from the establishment of the Mississippi and Mobile [commercial] [omitted—N] company, the house shall have [18] power to dissolve the said company; provided it meets the approbation of a majority of votes or actions.

Art. 17. Whenever the company dissolves, the stock on hand to be equally divided amongst the shareholders, according to the number of shares by them respectively held.

Art. 18. There shall be a seal provided for the benefit of the company, with a device suitable to the occasion [s—N].

Art. 19. If upon experience it shall be necessary to alter, amend, add to, or deminish those articles, it shall be done in the following manner, and no other, the person, or persons, wishing for an alteration, shall propose the same to the house, by laying the proposed amendment, or alteration before them in writing; and if such alteration, or amendment, or any part thereof, meets the approbation of the house, they shall cause the same to be published; and if a majority of votes, or actions, determiens [sic—mines—N] in favour of such alteration, or amendment; it shall become a part of these articles.

Art. 20. And lastly, nothing in this commercial system, shall ever extend, or be construed to extend so far, as in any respect whatever to abridge, or involve in any wise, the freedom or liberty of shareholders in it, or any other person or persons, [ends—N] dated the 1st of January 1797.

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No. Shares.

In pursuit of the foregoing commercial object, I set out from the state of Georgia; and in april 1797, arrived at Knoxville state of Tennessee; where I [19] made publick my intentions, and offered generous encouragement to those, who thought proper to unite with me in the enterprise of a settlement at the mouth of Cumberland on Ohio river.\*

By approbation of the executive of the state of Tennessee,<sup>11</sup> I made all the necessary preparations for the intended settlement on Ohio.

Being informed that jealousies existed with the federal department, respecting my intended route;<sup>12</sup> I made use of every effort in my power to remove them; as well by publick declaration of my intention, as by offering to the executive of Tennessee state, or any other civil officer <sup>13</sup> who might require it satisfactory security that no part of my conduct, or of those along with me, should be improper or derogatory to any government.†

\*At considerable expence, in the year 1796, I had the country on the Ohio mouth of Cumberland explored, and improved, by Capt. John Smith T<sup>10</sup>; for the purpose of a commercial establishment;—being informed that it was, a general resort of Indians, and a dangerous situation, I thought prudent, to make the necessary preparations for defence.

†See in a pamphlet published by the author, in autumn, 1797, at Knoxville, Page 18, marked letter O.

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<sup>10</sup>John Smith, who was later Senator from Ohio, was charged with being a lieutenant of Cox's, but he is probably not the one meant here. The "T" seems to be part of the name, for it not only appears in several places in this pamphlet, but also in Houck, *Missouri III*, pp. 55, 74. According to the latter "John Smith T" was a gunsmith who acquired a certain notoriety in Missouri, but he was one of those "who had fled to escape the lash of justice in their native states." The editor ventures the suggestion that the "T" stands for "Tennessee" and was used to distinguish him from the Ohio merchant, who occasionally has the "O" after his name. Cf. *Annals* 10 Cong. 1st Sess. Vol. I, 599 App.

<sup>11</sup>See p. 100. This settlement was at Smithland, which is described at length in the following pages.

<sup>12</sup>Steiner, Bernard, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry*, pp. 266-272, published several letters from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky referring to Cox's supposed projects. Timothy Pickering, the Secretary of State, believed that these reports are much exaggerated, but McHenry, the Secretary of War, issued the necessary orders to prevent any trespassing on the Indian lands. Cf. p. 102.

<sup>13</sup>See p. 99.



Notwithstanding every effort in my power to remove prejudices, the federal military on Holstein river;<sup>14</sup> thought proper to declare their disapprobation, to the measure of myself and friends, descending the river Tennessee under pretext that the river Holstein above the junction of it and [20] Tennessee, was Indian water:<sup>15</sup>—see in a pamphlet published at Knoxville in autumn 1797, by the author, page 15, marked letter K.

Being still anxious, to accomplish an object that had now cost me enormous expences, in making the necessary preparations to pursue: I thought proper to pass by way of Kentucky, to the destined place of settlement—with hopes that in a short time, all prejudices would cease to exist; by which means myself and friends, could in peace pursue the commercial objects contemplated.<sup>16</sup>

On my way through the state of Kentucky in January 1798, when at Frankfort; I communicated to his Excellency James Garrard, <sup>17</sup> Esqr. Governor of said state, my intention to settle and fix a commercial establishment at or near the mouth of Cumberland river above the Indian boundary soliciting his friendly advice on the subject: and at the same time offering every assurance that no part of my conduct, or of those who might unite with me in the settlement, should be derogatory to the laws of that state or the United states, I received the following verbal answer from his Excellency.

That unfavourable reports had circulated with respect to my intended settlement, he was glad to be informed of the

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<sup>14</sup>Under date of May 22, 1797, Thomas Dillon writes to McHenry (Steiner, p. 171) describing the condition of some of these troops. They were distributed in small garrisons of about fifteen men, and although they were not under very good discipline or well provisioned, they performed a good service in keeping the whites and Indians apart. The whites in the Cumberland district were better disposed than those on the Holston to remain peaceful. On September 14, 1797, William Cocke, senator from Tennessee, wrote Secretary McHenry (Steiner, p. 268) protesting against an order to Colonel Butler to remove the settlers from Indian lands. Cf. also p. 114, and Ramsey, p. 679.

<sup>15</sup>Governor Sevier's statement (p. 103) implies that he was responsible for this.

<sup>16</sup>It is stated that Cox and his party carried several small pieces of artillery across Kentucky with them. T. Lewis to McHenry, February 18, 1798, Steiner, p. 272.

<sup>17</sup>James Garrard was elected governor of Kentucky in 1796. Collins, Lewis, *History of Kentucky*, p. 110.

truth, and would render every assistance in his power to the rising settlement consistent with the duties of his office.

On the 10th of February ensuing I embarked from the falls of Ohio, and on the 18th instant arrived at the destined place of settlement.

I pitched on the spot best calculated for the commerical establishment contemplated at the distance of about two miles below the mouth of Cumberland [21] river, I immediately dispatched a messenger to Captain Pike,<sup>18</sup> commander at Fort Massac, informing him the object I had in view, soliciting his approbation to the measure, and friendly aid in the new establishment.

On the arrival of the messenger and men who accompanied him, at Massac, they fell in company with captain Thomas Lewis,<sup>19</sup> who (by military power) confined the messenger part of two days:—he being at length set at liberty, without knowing the charges against him (as he told me) returned on the 21st inst. with the following verbal information:

Capt. Pike conceived the spot I had pitched upon not to be Indian lands;<sup>20</sup> I was authorized and could settle there with propriety, and he should always be happy to render me any services in his power consistant with his office.

I immediately Lotted off the ground, the families and men began their improvements.

On the 22d inst. I set out for Cumberland settlements (at the distance of about 90 miles) from whence I returned to the mouth of Cumberland, on the 10th of March ensuing; with a small cargo of supplies to aid the rising settlement, which we named *Smithland*.

On my return from Cumberland, our number consisted of

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<sup>18</sup>Father of Zebulon Montgomery Pike. For his career see Heitman, *Hist'l Register of the United States Army*, p. 523.

<sup>19</sup>A letter from Lewis, who was a captain in the Third Regiment, to the Secretary of War in reference to this event is found in Steiner, p. 272. Lewis believed that the messenger, Mitchell, came to the fort to learn the number of soldiers there and their disposition towards the Cox party. Mitchell claimed to be Cox's chief surveyor, but he was later driven from the settlement for insubordination. Cf. p. 86.

<sup>20</sup>In 1803 Matthew Lyon testified that Smithland lay about five miles "on this side of the marked line of the Indian boundary." Cf. *Amer. State Paps. Misc.* I, p. 360.

about ten families, and thirty-three men. Capt. Wm. L. Cox,<sup>21</sup> who arrived in my absence, from Frankfort, in company with several emigrants, had (with the assistance of the settlers) erected a block house for defence, on account of the hostile appearance of the Indians; who six days previous came in a formidable party, and absolutely ordered the settlers all to quit their possessions in ten days, or they would (as they expressed [22] themselves) take hair. Capt. Wm. L. Cox immediately wrote Capt. Pike on the subject, soliciting his friendly advice and aid.

About the middle of March, Capt. Pike with a military escort, made us a visit; fifteen or twenty Indians attended on the occasion, after viewing the ground and situation of the country—finding us not on the Indian lands, the Captain used his influence to satisfy their minds with respect to our settlement.<sup>22</sup>

The Indians still continued to hover around us with marks of hostility, collecting in number to the amount of about three hundred, well armed; some of them encamped West of the river Ohio, and others South of the river Tennessee, their spies and reconnoitring parties, twice every day, passed through our settlement on their route from one camp to the other. Some of our emigrants left the settlement; others expressed alarm, and disposition to depart, whom I encouraged and prevailed upon to continue; by informing them my hopes of the arrival of Captain John Smith from Holstein with a large boat loaded with provisions, mechanical and farming utensils, and supplies for defence.

Soon after I received information from Captain John Smith, that the government had denied him the privilege of descending the river Tennessee, with the boat and supplies—for what cause he could not tell,<sup>23</sup> but nothing soon could be expected from that quarter; as he was obliged to wait the pleasure of government.

Thus our infant settlement was left without provisions or supplies for defence; our number consisted of about forty-five women and children, and about fifty men; the Indians still showing a [23] hostile disposition—had collected in number to the amount of four hundred; their spies and reconnoitring parties

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<sup>21</sup>Haywood, *Tennessee*, pp. 255, 256 refers to a William Cox as Zachariah's brother. Houck (*Missouri* II, 155) mentions him as one of the settlers in 1800 on Lake St. Mary in the jurisdiction of New Madrid.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Note 20.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. p. 103.



frequently made applications to us for ammunition; offering extravagant prices—being scarce of ammunition ourselves we took care not to divide what little we had with the natives, particularly as we were in hopes their scarcity in that article might prevent their general attack upon us which we had reason to apprehend.\*

I determined at every risk to support the rising settlement, and for that purpose dispatched messengers to my friends in the settled country of Kentucky, Cumberland, and Holstein, to forward me supplies. I also called on those who were interested in our settlement, to aid us as much as in their power; and to the active young men, I gave permits to collect and bring forward emigrants on the following conditions: viz.

Sir,

You are hereby permitted to raise a company of emigrants to settle in the town of Smithland, who shall each be entitled to a lot in this town gratuitously, provided they shall improve, or cause the same to be improved, and on their becoming citizens, or residents of said town for the space of one year, the said emigrants shall each be entitled to one thousand and one acres of land in the Tennessee purchase;<sup>24</sup> in the tract of country set apart for the emigrants; provided they shall settle upon or cause the same to be settled upon & improved, the ensuing season after a settlement [24] takes place, consistent with the approbation of government. Given under my hand &c.

(Signed) ZACHARIAH COX.

In consequence of the foregoing encouragement, the emigration to Smithland became very considerable in a few weeks; the industry of the citizens greatly increased the value of their lots in town, who now began to precipitately to enjoy the reward of their labour, every prospect was flattering and wore the most alluring features; amongst the citizens the greatest harmony and friendship existed.

Having thus laid and secured the foundation of a rising settlement, by expensive improvements as well as much personal fatigue and trouble; I made a declaration of my intended route

\*The Indians frequently (in my presence) observed the ten days were most gone, we must then go away.

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<sup>24</sup>*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 121, 360. Apparently the officers received extra allowances of land. Cf. also p. 94.

down the river Mississippi, for the purpose of making a commercial connection in Orleans, as well as a desire to explore the country west of the river Mississippi—provided the approbation of the Spanish government could be first obtained for that purpose.<sup>25</sup>

The good citizens of Smithland being acquainted with my object, and informed, on my route I intended to explore the country west of the Mississippi, (provided the approbation of the Spanish government could be first obtained) expressed a desire to accompany me: and began their preparation for the journey, about the first of June I was informed by a friend from Massac, that the federal officers of that post, had in contemplation to stop me by military force, on my descent of the river Ohio; this information appears to be substantiated by the following letter, viz. [25]

Sir, Massac, June the 2d. 1798.

The bearer is a man who has been in my employ these four months, during which time he has behaved himself with propriety, he is anxious to get a lot in your settlement, and begs the favor of me to give him these few lines of introduction, I expect that the General's journey<sup>26</sup> to this country is postponed. If you should descend the Ohio please to make it convenient to call just to subscribe to the usual forms of the place, as you are expected down and they will not permit your Passing unless it is done clandestinely.\* I remain Sir,

Your Humble Serv't,

(True Copy)

(Signed) Zebn. Monty. Pike.<sup>27</sup>

Directed to Col. Cox.

\*Mr. Pike's letter not being in confidence permits a publication of it.

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<sup>25</sup>The attitude of the Spanish government towards exploration west of the Mississippi is shown in their course towards Philip Nolan. Gayoso (mentioned in this pamphlet p. 73) was largely responsible for this growing opposition to American influence in that region. Cf. *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, Vol. X, p. 58. On the other hand, McHenry wrote Washington Nov. 6, 1799, (Steiner p. 440) that Gayoso "probably was in connivance" with Cox.

<sup>26</sup>General Wilkinson had succeeded Wayne in command of the army. The situation in the Natchez District and other frontier affairs necessitated his presence on the Mississippi. At this period the Spanish authorities believed that he was no longer devoted to their interests, so looked upon his arrival with suspicion. He was then at Pittsburgh, passed to Massac, August 1st, and reached Natchez on August 26, 1798. Ellicot, A., *Journal*, etc. p. 182.

<sup>27</sup>A letter from William Henry Harrison at Cincinnati to McHenry (Steiner, p. 263) reports the arrival at that place in August, 1797, from Massac of "Mr. Pike cadet of the 3rd Regiment."

The foregoing letter and information impressed me with some degree of astonishment; believing as I did at that time, the impracticability of an arbitrary molestation of the free and independent navigation of the river Ohio, which is guaranteed to every citizen by the constitution and laws of the United States, as well as by treaties with all nations, touching upon, or interested therein.

In company with eighty men, I embarked from south of Smithland, on the 17th of July 1798, in pursuit of the journey contemplated, as before stated—Maj. Thomas Gist,<sup>28</sup> at the request of the company, was kind enough to go in advance of us on our descent of the river Ohio with information to the [26] commander at Massac, of our intended route and object.

On our arrival near Massac the following letter was handed me by a man from galley Adams.

Sir, You will put to shore with your boats before you get below THE where THE Galley lays at anchor or I shall be under the necessity of firing at you.

True copy (Signed) W. P. Smith Lt. 3d Regt.<sup>29</sup>

Directed to

Colo. Cox, or the officer Comg. the boats descending the river from Smithland. }

Comg. Galley Adams.

July 17, '98, 15 m.  
after 3 o'clock.

In conformity with the foregoing order from W. P. Smith, myself and company made a halt; where we continued until the return of Major Thos. Gist from [the] garrison [of] Massac, by whom we received the following verbal order from Major Kingsberry.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>A letter from Major Thomas Girt to the Commandant of New Madrid, bearing date of May 30, 1798, is found in *American State Papers, Misc. I*, pp. 359, 360. In this letter Girt calls himself "commander at Smithland—founded by Col. Cox," so the presumption is that he is the "Gist" mentioned above. The object of his letter was to open "commerce and friendly intercourse with all our neighbors," of whom he conceived the Spaniard "an interesting one." R. Buntin in a communication to Wilkinson refers to a Major "Guist." *Ibid.* Cf., also p. 108.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Heitman, p. 603.

<sup>30</sup>Jacob Kingsbury. An explanation of this order may be found on p. 63, n. 36. That there was justification for it may be inferred from Prior's deposition. Cf. p. 104.



That myself and company must immediately ascend the river Ohio beyond the distance of a six pounder or he, Kingsberry, should from an order fire on us.

Myself and company immediately ascended the river Ohio about three miles; and encamped on the east shore Christian county state of Kentucky, from whence, I wrote the following letter viz.

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Major Kingsberry                      State of Kentucky July 17th 1798.  
Comr. at Fort Massac.

Sir, for the purpose of exploring the Country to the Southward of this, my friends with me are desirous to descend the river [27] Ohio by your garrison not being acquainted with the rules of the place has induced me to write you for information how to act and whether we are to descend the river or not.

The information I received some weeks past which will be shown you per. Majr. Gist the bearer of this appears to me not more extraordinary than that of your order to me this day, to ascend the river beyond the distance of a six pounder; however I have thought proper to obey your orders, as it is now and ever was my real desire, to conform to the rules and regulations of any constituted authority derived from our government.

The emigration to Smithland has far surpassed the calculation of many; provision being scarce necessity has measurably enforced us to draw some assistance from the wood. The laws of the United States have prescribed the boundary between us and the Indians over which we cannot pass without offence, though the Indians have been permitted to take the game from us.<sup>31</sup>

We wish to be permitted to pass to some place, where we can legally by industry justly support many respectable families, who may otherwise be reduced to want.

Your humble servant,

(Signed) Zachr. Cox.

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Sir,                                              Fort Massac, 17th July 1798.

"I received your letter of this date by Mr. Gist, and must inform you that no armed party is permitted to pass this place, and should you presume to attempt forcing by the galley, or

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<sup>31</sup>Cf. Sevier's statement, p. 101.

garrison, you must expect to pass under a heavy fire, from every [28] peice of ordinance which can be brought to bear on you from the fort and galley.

Your humble servant.

(Signed) \*Jacob Kingsberry, Maj.

2d, U. S. Regt. commanding fort  
Massac and its dependencies.

[True copy,]

Directed to Mr. Z. Cox.

by Mr. Gist.

On receiving the foregoing letter from Maj. Kingsberry, myself and company thought proper to return to South Smithland, and to consult the civil authority, and commander of the county in which we lived.<sup>33</sup>

At the request of the company, Maj. Thomas Gist and myself, wrote the following letters to Col. Moses Shelby, <sup>34</sup> Commander for the county of Christian.

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Smithland, July 18, 1798.

Sir,

After my compliments to your honour, I take the liberty to inform you, that on the 16th day of this inst. at the request of Col. Cox, and four captains, in your Regiment from Smithland, I dropped down in a perogue to fort Massac, and made a candid statement of their intended route down the river, offering any security for a proper conduct.

Major Kingsberry told me that Col. Cox could pass on his negotiations with a few men, but unarmed, the next morning we dropped down near the garrison, I went forward;—told the Maj. that Col. Cox had arrived near his garrison, wished him to come to his boats, or nominate some officer to do so, view his

\*About two weeks previous to our descending the river Ohio; Captain Samuel Hancock<sup>32</sup>, in company with ten armed men descended the river,—gave a manifest of his cargo and men, passed Massac to New Madrid and back, without molestation, and by Kingsberry's particular approbation.

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<sup>32</sup>Hancock was one of Cox's agents. Cf. p. 104.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Prior's deposition, p. 104.

<sup>34</sup>An order of Moses Shelby to W. Compton, Lieutenant of the 24th Kentucky militia, bearing date of July 5, 1798 is found in *Amer. State Paps. Misc.* Vol. I, p. 360. Wilkinson characterizes him as one "who has taken part in his (Cox's) usurpations," *Ibid*, p. 358.

situation and boats, pass as many as he pleased, and in what manner he pleased, and the balance would return.

His answer was, that we must return immediately out of the reach of the shot of a six pounder, or from an order he should fire on us, which Col. Cox and the officers on my return thought proper to comply with; the other documents will be enclosed in the colonel's letter.

(True copy)

Your humble servant,  
signed—Thomas Gist.

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State of Kentucky, 3 miles above fort Massac  
the 18th July, 1798.

Col. Moses Shelby, Sir,

On my route down the river Ohio, in pursuit of the journey contemplated and fully communicated to you when at Smithland—there appears some difficulty with the officers of the garrison Massac, in permitting our descending the river as you will see per the inclosed documents. I have tho't it my duty to communicate you the circumstances, soliciting your friendly advice as commander of the county, on a subject truly interesting to all the citizens of this Western world.

If the free and independent navigation of those Western waters are to be thus invaded, there is no longer use for civil authority; but all must bend to a military prerogative.

I have ever supported the [30] civil authority of my country and still hope to have it in my power to do so; you are the only officer present on whom I can call or look up to for justice; therefore hope you will do myself and friends the honor of your presence, that a proper and legal investigation of the subject may take place.

Yours friend, and  
humble servant,  
(Signed) Zachr. Cox.

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Several others: officers of Col. Shelby's Regt. also wrote him soliciting his advice on the occasion.

On the 19th of July 1798.

Myself and company ascended the river Ohio to South Smithland.



On the 20th of July

Col. moses shelby, in company with J. Ramsey, Esqr. (one of the civil officers of Christian County) arrived at South Smithland, I fully communicated to them the circumstance of myself and friends, being stopped from descending the river Ohio.

Colo. Moses Shelby J. Ramsey Esq. accompanied by Major Thos. Gist, and several other citizens of Smithland, thought advisable to wait on the commander at Massac; in order if possible to know the cause why citizens were prohibited from descending the river.

On Col. Shelby's arrival at Massac (as himself and J. Ramsey, on their return informed me) he asked Major Kingsberry the cause that influenced him to prevent the citizens of Kentucky from descending the river Ohio, and whether he (Kingsberry) had any charges or partial orders against myself and company?—answer—That he (Kingsberry) [31] had orders, not to admit armed men to descend the river Ohio.

Col. Shelby asked Major Kingsberry for a sight of the foregoing order; which was denied him; on his return from Massac he (Col. Shelby) wrote the following letter, viz

One mile above Massac, July 21st, 1798.

Major Kingsberry

Sir,

Since my departure from your Garrison, on mature consideration as a citizen of Kentucky; considering the situation of my fellow citizens, who have been orderly and good men; and organized in my regiment by their own request, it causes my feelings to bleed. But as an officer inquiring into these grievances, being denied a sight or a copy of your orders, in a case so interesting to my fellow citizens and myself (as the uninterrupted navigation of the river Ohio provided for and secured to us by treaties with all nations touching thereon) causes me to think myself injured.

I now beg you if consistant with your power and order; to admit the barge of Col. Cox, and one flat boat with five perogues, to pass with five men aboard of each, or I suppose five less might do by getting hirelings to work up, I have thought from the date of your order, corresponding with the date of the letter that Major Gist gave you a copy of a few days ago; they must in

my opinion originate with, and come from col. Hamtramck;<sup>35</sup> if not I hope you will on the reception of this give me a true copy in order to enable me to inform my fellow citizens, that for the future they may not depend upon treaties or civil authority; but resign all to a military prerogative, and to attempt any thing to [31] the contrary is not only risqueing their rights and property, but lives. After acknowledging the great satisfaction I had in your company and other officers I beg leave to subscribe myself with due esteem.

your sincere friend & Humble  
servant,  
signed—Moses Shelby.

(true copy)

In answer to the foregoing; *Col. Shelby* received the following letter directed to me.

Fort Massac 21st July 1798.

Sir,

If you are desirous of descending the *Ohio* with six or seven boats and thirty or thirty five men to work them and no more I have not the least objections provided you have no ordnance or military stores on board, and not more than one third of your men armed. On your approach you will halt with your party one mile from the garrison, where your boats and crews will be examined by the officer of the day, who will report, and should you conform strictly to this order, you will be permitted to pass unmolested.

I am sir, yours,

Directed to (signed) Jacob Kingsberry, Maj.  
Mr. Z. Cox. 2d U. S. Regiment, commanding Fort Massac  
per col. M. V. Shelby. (True copy) & its dependencies,

Colonel Moses Shelby, J. Ramsey Esq. and company, returned to South Smithland, on the 21st. at night.

By approbation of col. M. Shelby and J. Ramsey Esqr. myself and company concluded to pursue our [33] journey, for the preservation of peace and harmony; as col. Shelby and J. Ramsey, Esqr. advised I thought proper to observe the rules laid down by Major Kingsberry; the remainder of the company

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<sup>35</sup>John F. Hamtramck, Cf. Heitman, p. 318.

passed by land, under the care of capt. Samuel Hancock,<sup>36</sup> who received the following authority from col. M. Shelby, viz.

To Capt. Samuel Hancock,

Sir, You are hereby permitted to pass through any part in the bounds of Christian County with any number of men you please paying due respect to our government, and not to infringe on the liberties of any Indian tribe. Given under my hand this 22d day of July 1798.

signed—Moses Shelby  
col. 24th regiment

(True copy)

Col. Shelby also issued the following authority.

Mr. Zachariah Cox,

Sir

You are hereby authorised to pass down the river Ohio with your crafts and Co. paying due respect to our government. Given under my hand this 22d July 1798.

(true copy) signed Moses Shelby col. 24 regt.

On the 22d instant myself and company proceeded on our journey down the Ohio, we arrived near Massac, halted on the South side of the river, from whence I wrote Major Kingsberry the follwing letter.

Sir,

It is our desire to subscribe to the rules of the Garrison, as per your request, you will please to send an officer on board to take a manifest of our [34] cargo, that we may pass in peace

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<sup>36</sup>Cf. Buntin to Wilkinson Aug. 1, 1798, *Am. State Paps. Misc.*, I, p. 359. Zachariah Cox to Benjamin Cox, (N. O. ?Oct. ?1798) Houck, *Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 383; Wilkinson to Sargent, Aug. 2, 1798. *Am. State Paps., Misc.* I, 358, 359. The passage of Cox and his men was apparently timed so as to follow that of Sargent, on his way to assume the governorship of Mississippi, and to precede that of Wilkinson. The latter charged that it was part of an extensive plan to form a rendezvous in the following December, of all the mischievous western characters, and urged Sargent to defeat it by arresting Cox. The latter must have had in mind some extensive plan of western exploration. Otherwise there would be no object in leading his men to New Madrid and then sending them back at once, when he failed to obtain permission of De Lassus to attempt this.





the river by his Garrison; we received the following verbal answer viz

That the navigation of the river Mississippi was free<sup>40</sup> for all americans to pass when they pleased unmolested.

On our arrival at New Madrid I immediately waited on the commander and informed him the objects we had in view.

The commander informed me that he could not authorise myself and company to explore or settle in his catholic Majesty's Dominions, as that power was only vested in his superiors, the Governor General of the province of Lusiana<sup>41</sup> would probably authorise the object we had in view, to whom he recommended me, he further observed that we could with propriety descend the river the navigation being free, but gave it as his advice for myself in company with a few men first to descend the river, see the Governor General and know his sentiments.

I returned to the company who descended the river with me, and informed them as near as I could, the conversation that passed between the commander and myself, on deliberation it appeared to be the general opinion of the company to adopt the advice of the commander; and accordingly all returned except myself and thirteen others, with whom I descended the river Mississippi.

On the 11th day of August 1798, myself and [36] company arrived at Natchez; I immediately waited upon the federal commanding officer—capt. Guion<sup>42</sup> to whom I fully communicated the objects in view, & my desire to pass to Orleans for that purpose.

I was immediately on my arrival at Natchez, informed by several citizens, that the federal officers had in contemplation, by military power, to confine myself and company.

we continued at Natchez several days, in peace and harmony with our friends.

On the 18th instant, about the hour of twelve o'clock at night, my lodging was surrounded with probably some few less than a battalion of federal troops, with fixed bayonets. A Mr.

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<sup>40</sup>As a result of Pinckney's Treaty of 1795, which had been observed by the Spaniards for a few months only.

<sup>41</sup>Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. For his later relations with Cox cf. p. 73.

<sup>42</sup>For Captain Isaac Guion cf. Quarterly, Vol. IV, p. 96,

Scott, and a Mr. Grag<sup>43</sup> came into the house, and without ceremony forced the room, where I was in bed with Capt. Wm. L. Cox: I asked their business, they told me they were the unwelcome messengers of bad news; their business was to take me into custody.

I asked their authority, they told me it was from Governor Sergeant.<sup>44</sup> I put on my clothes, they forced me at the point of the bayonet to fort Panmuir<sup>45</sup> of Natchez; (as they called it) I demanded their authority—Mr. Grag showed me orders to the following effect—viz.

You are ordered to take under your command a sufficient number of men, and to take into custody the body of Zachariah Cox, if he is found to be in this district, and in case of any opposition, you are to repel force by force, treating him in every respect as a common enemy.

The foregoing is as near as I can recollect the purport of the order, the original or a copy being denied me I cannot repeat it verbatim; but the words to repel force by force, and stiling me a common [37] enemy; as well as the signature of Guion, I perfectly recollect; neither the signature of the Governor, or any other civil officer was to the orders Mr. Grag shewed me.†

I was kept in fort Panmeur 29 days and nights, great part of the time in close confinement.<sup>47</sup>

My friends made use of every legal effort in their power to see me, or know the cause of my confinement, which was absolutely denied.

In the time of my confinement I wrote the following letters:—viz.

†See in the evidence of captain George Demler<sup>46</sup>, on the trial of lieutenant P. Pope confirmed.

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<sup>43</sup>William Scott, ensign, and Aaron Gregg, lieutenant, of the Third Regiment of Infantry.

<sup>44</sup>A copy of the order for Cox's arrest with Sargent's signature is given in Rowland, Dunbar (Ed.) *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, Vol. I, p. 29. Cf. also p. 105.

<sup>45</sup>The name "Panmure" was given to the fort during the British régime in West Florida. Cf. Martin, H. *History of Louisiana*, p. 221.

<sup>46</sup>For George Demler. Cf. Heitman, p. 228.

<sup>47</sup>For Sargent's contrary statement see Rowland, *op. cit.* p. 31. Cox states later that he was lodged with "six or seven horse thieves" and refused the privilege of conferring with his friends. Cf. *Am. St. Paps. Misc.* I, pp. 361, 362.



His Excellency,  
Winthrop Sergeant Esq.

Sir,

I am informed 'tis by your orders I have been fifteen days confined to this fort—being ignorant of the cause of my confinement, your information on the subject, cannot be a deviation from the constitutional principles of the United States.

To be granted a hearing on the subject of the accusation against me, in order if possible, to remove the charges exhibited, is what I request and conceive myself entitled to as a citizen of the United States, and the particular State of Kentucky.

If I am innocent of the charges, to be released from my confinement, must afford your Excellency as well as every humane mind satisfaction—if in the wrong, I conceive it consistent with the administration of justice.

My private affairs suffer much for want of attention to be permitted the privilege of putting them [38] in in the best possible situation in case of longer confinement, will prevent an innocent man from inevitable ruin; any security necessary to entitle me the foregoing privileges can be given that your Excellency may demand. I have the honour to be,

(True copy) Your most obedient servant,  
September 3, 1798. Zachr. Cox.

Fort Panmeur of Natchez

His Excellency Winthrop Sergeant Esq.

Sir,

Having received no answer to my letter of the 3d instant, induces me now to address you as the supreme Majistrate of this district, requesting of you, the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, which is guaranteed to me; as well as every other citizen of the United States, by the federal constitution.

I hope sir, you will not construe this request from me improper, as I conceive it legal, and being still ignorant of the cause of my confinement, in a manner I conceive contrary to the constitutional principles of my country.

I have the honour to be,

(True copy) Sir,  
By captain George Demler Your most obedient humble serv't.  
Dated 20th of September, 1798. Zachr. Cox.

Fort Panmeur of Natchez.

The Hon. Peter Brewen<sup>48</sup> Esq.

Sir,

I wrote to his excellency the governor of the 3d and 20th inst. on the subject of my confinement, of which I suppose you cannot be a stranger, having received no answer from him, has induced me to address you as one of the federal Judges of this district—requesting of you the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, which is guaranteed to me, as well as every other citizen of the United States, by the federal constitution.

I hope sir, you will not construe this request from me improper, as I conceive it legal, and being ignorant of the cause of my confinement, in a manner I conceive contrary to the constitutional principles of my country—and also, as the situation of my private affairs call for immediate attention.

Capt. George Demler, who will do me the honour of handing you this, I hope will be enabled to satisfy me the probability of the success of my application—and whether in case of longer confinement, I can have the privilege of an interview with some of my friends, in order to place my private affairs in the best situation possible. I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient humble serv't.

(True copy) (Signed) Zachr. Cox.

24th September, 1798.

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By Capt. Demler I received the following verbal answer from judge Brewen.

He Brewen was then busy; after the arrival of [40] General Wilkinson he would probably write to me on the subject of my application.

General Geo. Mathews<sup>49</sup> Doctor James White and Col.

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<sup>48</sup>For Peter Bryan Bruin, one of the first judges of Mississippi Territory, cf. Rowland, *Off'l & Statistical Register of the State of Miss.* p. 171 *et seq.*

<sup>49</sup>He was governor of Georgia in 1795 when the second grant was made to Cox and his associates. He had hoped to be appointed governor of Mississippi Territory rather than Sargent. Ellicott speaks unfavorably of him, probably because of political bias. Cf. Ellicott, *Journal* (Mss.) under date of Oct. 27, 1797. Dr. James White was appointed agent for the southern Indian tribes in 1786. A James White was one of the founders of Knoxville. Cf. Winsor, *Westward Movement*, pp. 345, 358. Ramsey, pp. 660, 675. He drew up the remonstrance mentioned on p. 34. Sargent later arrested White as the reputed author of a bulky memorial against him. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, Vol. I, pp. 77, 79.

Joseph Pannell, as well as many others of my friends, and acquaintances made application to see me, or to be informed what were the charges, they were absolutely refused either.

Capt. William L. Cox applied to Governor sergeant for leave to write me; with some difficulty the request was admitted; on the following conditions.

1st. Captain W. L. Cox's letter, to me was to be handed to the commander col. Hamtrammock,\* for military inspection.

2d. The commanding officer or col. Hamtrammock to pass or hand the letter to the Governor for civil inspection.

3d. After the foregoing ceremonies the officer of the Fort was permitted as I understood to give me the letter.

To this ungenerous procedure I measurably acceded, rather than not hear from my friends.

Captain W. L. Cox was first permitted to open the correspondence, he immediately wrote; (his letters having to pass all the forms of the new created court) came to my view some few weeks after date, and to the best of my recollection was as follows.[41]

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Sir,

Several of the men who came in company with you are sick, and very uneasy, they wish to know what you want them to do or whether it is your desire for them to return home or not, I wish to know what arrangements, you want made, with your property here, and what service I can legally render you.

signed W. L. Cox.

The foregoing is the purport of W. L. Cox's letter as near as I can recollect: the original or a copy being absolutely denied me; I cannot assert the contents verbatim.

Some few days subsequent to my being admitted a sight of W. L. Cox's letter as aforesaid: the officer of the Fort asked me if I did not intend to answer Mr. Cox's letter.

\*The foregoing appears to differ a little from captain Demler's evidence, he says the letter was first to pass civil inspection; but I recollect perfectly captain Demler told me our correspondence must be consistant with military order that the letter must first be handed col. Hamtrammock open.



My reply was

The ungenerous mode of corresponding granted between myself and friends, I conceived not to be for any satisfaction or advantage we could derive from it: but the design was if possible to unjustly criminate us, consequently I should not write, all I asked was the following privilege.

Will you permit me to send an open power of attorney to some friend to negotiate and settle my private business, this request was denied me.

It was with difficulty I was permitted to keep copies of my letters wrote the Governor and Judge. Capt. George Demler observing that my publishing of them might some day bring upon him trouble; capt. Demler as he told me waited on col. Hamtrammock on this occasion, whom he said had no objections, to my keeping copies of such letters as was approved of by the officers, and that all letters [42] written by me must positively be done in his presence. Some few days previous to my departure from confinement I was informed by a friend (who accidentally got an opportunity to speak with me) that every measure possible was then pursuing, by General Wilkinson, and the Federal officers, to involve me in inevitable ruin. The most ungen[erous] reflections and unfavourable representations were made to those who were unacquainted with us; in fact no abuse with them was too nefarious to be prescribed,<sup>50</sup> and that if I respected myself or friends he advised me if possible to depart.

Under those impressions I determined at every risque to leave my confinement.

On the 25th of Sept. I told the officers of the Fort in the care of whom I was placed; that I would rather not exist than to be unjustly and illegally confined, my friends would be injured, who had reposed implicit confidence in me; and I must be involved in inevitable ruin; provided I was detained from pursuing my lawful business.

All I asked was that justice the constitution and laws of my country entitled me to, and rather than be denied that, I would cease to exist in this world.

Except some few contemptuous grins, the officers made little

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<sup>50</sup>For correspondence in reference to Cox's projects cf. Steiner, *passim*.

or no reply to my observations and probably thought less of them.

On the 20th [26th] of September 1798 (with considerable risque) I departed from Fort Panmeur of Natchez, on my way at the distance of fifteen leagues from New Orleans, I met a report that myself with a considerable number of men was on the way to plunder and harrass the Spanish settlers; and on my arrival at New Orleans, on the 3d of October 1798. I was informed of the fact, that a [43] letter from General Wilkinson<sup>51</sup> had arrived some few days previous, the contents of which will appear in the following orders, published by the Governor general of the Province of Louisiana viz.

I have just now received an unquestionable proof of the faith of the U. S. in the observance of the treaty by which the interest of our nations are so happily united.

General Wilkinson informs me that a very large number of people without law or any national consideration have joined in the western part of the U. S. with the perverse design of invading this province, and no other object than that of plundering its inhabitants and committing such excesses as may be expected from men without any discipline, whose existence is only supported as long as their atrocities keep them out of the reach of deserved punishment.

The chief of those banditti has under various pretexts deceived the commander of Fort Massac and was permitted to pass with a small party of his people, having persuaded him that they were going to hunting; but the main body went through the woods out of sight of the Fort to embark about a league further; said General supposes that these may be a part of the forces with which Blount intended to invade this province.<sup>52</sup>

He has given me this timely information to the end that I might take such measures as can prevent so eminent a danger; the executive power of the U. S. has been long pursuing that party of outlawed people so far as to send troops against them.

<sup>51</sup>McHenry later regretted that Wilkinson had taken it on himself to ask Cox's surrender, as this might become a "congressional question." Cf. Steiner, p. 440.

<sup>52</sup>There seems to be no evidence to show that Cox's plan had any connection with the Blount Conspiracy. Blount's attitude towards Cox in 1791 would suggest the contrary. Perhaps Wilkinson wished to show that others beside himself considered the possibility of a western revolt, and thus to direct the attention of the government away from himself.

The chief of those vagabonds has been lately arrested in Natchez and I make no doubt but what the vigilance of that Government will continue to [44] stop the progress of those malefactors.

Although the measures which the government of the U. S. employs to that purpose be efficacious I should be reproachable of negligence should I not do my endeavours to preserve the tranquility of this province and assure to its inhabitants their lives honor and property the principal objects on which is established the happiness of society, and which is the aim of the most beneficent Government.

On seeing so eminent a danger I have taken the most convenient measures to have stores of provisions, and amunition at Batton Rouge, where in case of necessity I intend to assemble the principal forces of this province with a camp of observation at pointe Coupee,<sup>53</sup> Col. Charles De Grand Pre, Governor of the Districts of Feliciana and Batton Rouge has my instructions, and is to act immediately under my orders, according to that at his first requisition, any corps of the militia of this province, will march on to the place that he will point out, having given them the orders to meet with the regular troops and free companies with which I will proceed on to the designed spot.

To the end that the said junction may be effected with all possible speed, you will give the convenient orders to the mixed legion of the Mississippi to march at the first warning.

In all times the militia of this province have given the most convincing proofs of their fidelity bravery and patriotism not only preserving, their own tranquility, but also crowning themselves with Glory and adding laurels to the arms of his Majesty; this fills me with the most flattering hopes, and makes me beforehand confident of success.

The zeal activity and skill which you have shown [45] in in former occasions of importance leaves me no doubt of what will be your conduct on the present one.

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<sup>53</sup>On the west bank of the Mississippi above Baton Rouge. Grand Pré was in control of Baton Rouge and the surrounding region, including Feliciana, until 1808. He had been appointed governor of the Natchez District in 1797, but the inhabitants, having appointed a committee of safety to act for them until the American government was ready to assume control, refused to receive him.



To send your orders, you will employ as couriers, such men as you'll think more apt for that purpose, and they will be paid out of the Royal Treasury, as well as other extraordinary expences which may arise from the marching of the legion.

May God grant you a long life:—

Dated New Orleans, Sept. the 27th, 1798.

\*(Signed) Manuel Gayoso De Lemos.

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On my route to New Orleans, I called on col. Charles De Grand Pres, to whom the governor general had dispatched the orders stated in the foregoing—I was treated by the col. politely, and received from him a permit, of which the following is a copy.

Batton Rouge, 29th Sept. 1798.

“I grant a free passport to Mr. Zachariah Cox and Amos Edwards, that they may pass to New Orleans by land.

(True copy)

†Signed—Grand Pres.

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My arrival at New Orleans the moment I did, gave no small degree of surprise to the citizens, as well as the Spanish officers—and as to my own part I can only leave to my friends and fellow citizens to judge of the unpleasant situation in which I was placed: a lone stranger, supported only by a conscious rectitude of my actions, and profound justice of the Spanish officers who are disposed to be in amity with the United States, and to treat her citizens with justice and respect.

On my arrival at New Orleans, I immediately waited on his excellency governor Gayoso, to whom I stated candidly my situation, and the object I had in view for making him a visit.

\*The foregoing (as translated) are public orders from under the hand of Manuel Gayoso De lemos, governor general, for the province of Louisiana—wherein paragraphs and particular substance of general Wilkinson's communications appears to be quoted.

†If my departure from Natchez had been procrastinated two or three days, or col. De Grand Pres had received his orders previous to my arrival at Batton Rouge, what must have been the consequences.[46]

—,\* I was treated politely; and am happy to have it in my power, to inform the world and my friends particularly; that in his excellency Manuel Gayoso De-lemos, I have had the pleasure to find every principle that constitutes the officer of justice, gentleman of honour, humanity and benevolence.

† Since my departure from the Natchez, Wilkinson [47] and Sergeant, or one of them, have ordered or influenced the confinement of the company who descended the river with me; some of whome I am told are put in irons.<sup>55</sup>

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Short time after my arrival at New Orleans, Wilkinson, or Sergeant, perhaps both of them, demanded of governor Gayoso the person of Zachr. Cox<sup>56</sup>—in this demand they were not gratified—their communications not being so much credited as in the former instance; the objects they had in view were too plain, and began to awaken every impartial mind: a resort to some other alternative to gratify and carry into effect their malevolence became necessary.

After accomplishing my business much to my satisfaction with his excellency Governor Gayoso; by his approbation I departed from New Orleans, on the 30th of October for the United States, by way of Mobile, where I arrived in company with Mr. Amos Edwards, on the 8th of November 1798; by the citizens, officers and commander of Mobile we were politely treated.

On the 11th inst. we set out from Mobile for Samuel Mitchell's<sup>57</sup> Esq United States agent in the Chactaw Nation—where

\*The impartial can justly figure to themselves, the astonishment<sup>54</sup> with which I was received, and my embarrasment when the unfavorable representations which had been officially communicated, was pronounced to me; however truth as in all cases here, had its influence.

†The men who descended the Mississippi with me, and now confined at Natchez, were certainly as guilty of any crime previous to my departure from Natchez, as they were afterwards. Let me ask why were they not confined in the first instance? but they being guilty of no crime since my departure, were seized upon and confined; for what motive let the world judge.

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<sup>54</sup>According to Cox's later statement Gayoso met him with "Sir how in the name of God did you come here?" Cf. *Am. State Paps. Misc.*, I, 361, 362.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives* I, pp. 53, 59, 63, 76. In November Judge Bruin dismissed all except "young Cox and Hancock."

<sup>56</sup>For Sargent's request cf. *Ibid.*, p. 51; *Am. State Paps., Misc.* I, p. 360.

<sup>57</sup>Samuel Mitchell was deputy Indian agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, under Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, I. p. 46; Elliott, *Journal*, p. 199.

we arrived on the 18th inst. Mr. Mitchel being from home, did not return until the 19th. I immediately communicated to him my situation and desire to pass into the United States, to impartially give that justice and satisfaction the constitution and laws of our country demanded: I further requested of Mr. Mitchell (as an officer of the United States) his protection and safe conveyance into the State of Tennessee, to the honourable John M'Nairy<sup>58</sup> Esq. to my request Mr. Mitchel acceded, and promised to perform.[48]

On the present instant about two hours subsequent to my conversation with Mr. Mitchell, J. Stewart arrived express from Natchez, with a letter from governor Sergeant to the following effect.

‡Sir,

Zachariah Cox, who made his escape from this in September last, I am informed has left Orleans for the United States, by way of Mobile: he will probably pass through the Choctaw nation of Indians; should you hear of him, you will have him confined and brought to this place; I will pay the expence be it what it may: I have written to Welch|| in the Mobile

‡Until my departure from New Orleans, on the 30th of October, no person knew my intended route: from that date until the arrival of Winthrop Sergeant's message in the Chactaws was twenty days, in which time a journey of six hundred miles was performed, being the distance from New Orleans to Samuel Mitchell, Chactaw nation; this shows with what avidity my liberty was pursued—which ceased immediately I reached the line of civil justice.

||Said Welch is a man of low character, who I am informed, governor Sergeant has appointed one of his agents, to preside in the Mobile [49] settlement, situated as I was, the impartial reader may figure to himself my embarrassment, in the midst of an Indian nation; having no other way to pass into the United States, but through a tribe of savages—whose enmity, and prejudices, was now roused to extreme against my friends and myself.

And they employed by a reward to arbitrarily and illegally molest me, at a time and place, where Mr. Amos Edwards and myself stood destitute of either friends or acquaintance; except two or three humane citizens of the Indian country, and Samuel Mitchel Esq who in every respect conducted himself as an officer of justice and a gentleman of integrity.

For some time past false representations have been industriously circulated, as well amongst the several tribes of Indians, as with the citizens of the United States—that myself and friends intended to settle the Indian lands at the Muscle Shoals in a forceable manner. (Continued on p. 76)

<sup>58</sup>Sargent writes him as one of the three judges of the Superior Court of Tennessee, March 2, 1799, in reference to Cox. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, I. 109; Ramsey, p. 662.



settlement to have him apprehended should he pass that way.<sup>59</sup>

Not being able to obtain a copy of the letter, I cannot assert the whole verbatim, but the contents was nearly as I have stated, to which was the signature of Winthrop Sergeant.

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On the 21st of Oct. I set out for Nashville, State of Tennessee, under the care of Mr. John Pitchlynn,<sup>61</sup> whom Samuel

|| These erroneous prejudices have been kept alive by the detention of a boat (built on Holstein) under impressions that said boat was intended to convey emigrants to the Muscle Shoals contrary to the approbation of government. Any security would have been given which was repeatedly proposed by myself and friends—that the said boat should not be improperly or illegally employed. Notwithstanding every legal effort made use of by myself and friends (to our extreme injury) the boat was detained—which if she had been admitted, would have passed to Smithland; from thence to New Orleans, and proved to the Indians, and to the world at large, that these circulating reports were as false as the previous [50] communications to the Spanish officers. Let me ask Maj. Kingsberry what could be his motive, or design, in making the unprecedented request, that I should descend the river Ohio and Mississippi with but few men, and them unarmed.

By false representations the Spanish subjects, as well as the several tribes of Indians, were now roused to the highest prejudice against me. Had I acceded to Kingsberry's prescription, by the former I must have been treated contemptuously, if not harshly—and to the latter I must have fallen a sacrifice, as several armed parties visited us on our route; Kingsberry well knew the savages had but a few weeks previous, plundered a boat and crew; on the Ohio river, but a small distance below Massac.

I had every reason to believe, previous to my departure from Smithland, false representations had been made.

But going to New Madrid in company with 80 men, and conducting ourselves in a legal and proper manner;—convinced that wise and just administration, the purity of our intentions; and at once destroyed all confidence in malevolent communications.<sup>60</sup> [51]

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<sup>59</sup>Sargent calls James Stuart "a confidential character" whom he had sent to Mitchell and to Welch on the Tombigbee. Welch had formerly served as Indian interpreter at Natchez. Stuart was empowered to arrest Cox, and although he did not succeed in doing so, Sargent afterwards wrote that he "found him trusty," Sargent's instructions to Welch and Mitchell are in *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, I. p. 81. Cf. also *Ibid*, 141. For Mitchell's failure to arrest Cox and his assistance in enabling him to reach Tennessee, Sargent called him "either knave or fool," but strongly suspected the former. *Ibid*, pp. 94, 108.

<sup>60</sup>See p. 75. The note indicated by || continues to this point.

<sup>61</sup>A half breed interpreter for the Choctaws. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Arch. I*, p. 488, n.

Mitchell Esq. authorised and positively ordered to pass me safe into the United States. Mr. John Pitchlynn, a man of integrity, passed us safe through the whole nation and towns of the Chickasaw Indians by night totally undiscovered by them.\*

We arrived at Nashville on the 2d of December 1798—it being Sunday, we thought proper to postpone seeing Judge M'Nairy until early next morning; in the interim, lieutenant W. Smith<sup>62</sup> who was one day in advance of us, being at Nashville, went to Judge M'Nairy's, made an oath, as will appear; by virtue of which, the following warrant was issued: viz.

District of Tennesse. To wit.

The United States of America, To the Marshal of the district of Tennessee aforesaid, To his deputies in the district aforesaid, and to all and singular the United States officers of Justice in the District aforesaid Greeting Whereas William P. Smith lieutenant of the United States army, hath this day come before me John M'Nairy Judge of the district of Tennessee and hath made oath that Zachr. Cox now in the town of Nashville, on or about the 26th of September last did make his escape from the Custody of the law, having been committed for treasonable and illegal acts, by competent authority at the Natchez, and that he the said Smith is induced to believe from a variety of circumstances, that the charges can be supported against the

\*To me it appears strange that any man or men could have a legal or honest design, in molesting or having a citizen molested by savages, when flying to justice. In flying from justice by way of the Indian nation, the reward offered them might carry with it some colour of right; but in coming to justice, it cannot be construed to have any. When at Orleans, I was quite beyond the reach of the Laws of the United States;—and could have continued there if I pleased.

My returning to the United States, could to no impartial person, be construed a conviction of error; but to the contrary, a conviction of right. Certainly in all the United States the jurisdiction ought to be the same; if so, why not send a messenger to the State of Tennesse, Kentucky, or any other of the States, offering a reward to have me apprehended? I answer, because there is no savage or military prerogative in those States; there is law, & there is justice, where I invite and challenge you Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Wilkinson, or any other man or men to confront me with such accusations, and charges as has been falsely represented. Here there is impartial laws, and a government, which well administered and unprejudiced; the wisest, happiest, and the best. [52]

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<sup>62</sup>Cf. note 29.

said Cox. These are therefore to require you to apprehend the said Zachariah Cox, and bring him before me to answer the premises, and further to be dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand and seal  
this 2d day of November, 1798.

(A copy)

John M'Nairy. [53]

W. P. Smith's affidavit by virtue of which the foregoing warrant was issued.

Nashville December 2d, 1798.

Sir,

As an officer in the service of the United States and one attached to its interest, I conceive it my duty to inform you in your official capacity of the arrival of Zachariah Cox in this place an hour or two since of his having been confined by his excellency Governor Sergeant in August last at Natchez, of his escape from confinement & such other circumstances attending those different actions as have come within my knowledge.

In August last his Excellency Brigadier general Wilkinson arrived at fort Massac & was informed that Mr. Cox had descended the Ohio with a party of armed men to the Spanish dominions without the approbation or knowledge of any of the officers of the United States government, and contrary to its laws, and that he had committed sundry treasonable and illegal acts shortly previous to that period. He immediately dispatched an officer with this information to governor Sergeant, who had Cox confined the night of the officers arrival.

On the 20th [26] of September I arrived at Natchez; and on that night Mr. Cox made his escape, by climbing over the walls of the fort; to which place the governor had sent him for safe keeping, there being no jail in the town; he went to New Orleans in company with a Mr. Amos Edwards who is yet with him. I left Natchez on the 9th ult. and was informed by good authority on my journey here, that about the 10th, a reward of three hundred dollars was offered by the governor for the apprehending of Mr. Cox. I know that [54] the Chickasaw Indians have also been offered a reward for apprehending him: having seen sundry official letters to and from governor Sergeant on the subject of Cox's confinement, I know that there are charges of magnitude, which will be brought forward against him, so soon



as his person can be obtained, he has I am informed to evade trial come from New Orleans by way of Mobile.

Men of high responsibility stand pledged to support charges against him; and I trust that you will use such means to bring him to trial as may appear to you proper, you will I hope pardon me for suggesting that if he is tried it must be in the district of Natchez as the witnesses who will appear against him are all there, & cannot be brought here.

I stand ready should it be necessary, to make oath to the circumstances which I have related, & have two gentlemen in company with me who are acquainted with nearly all of them—Please to communicate to me your sentiments on the subject as soon as may be convenient to you, I had proposed setting out for Kentucky to-morrow morning but can wait a day if it should be necessary.

I have the honor to be with much  
respect your Obt. sert.

The Honbl.

Judge M'Nairy

W. P. Smith

Lieut. U. S. Army.

N. B. I have heard that Mr. Cox offered to give the Govr. of Natchez security for his appearance before any tribunal of the U. S. but that none would be taken alledging that he had too bad an opinion of Mr. Cox; & conceived his crimes of so heinous a nature that bail was out of the question.

sworn to before me  
this 2d Decr. 98.

John M'Nairy.

W. P. Smith  
Lieut. U. S. Army.

A copy. [55]

On Sunday evening about 8 o'clock, by virtue of the previous warrant and affidavit of W. P. Smith I was arrested by John Boyd, deputy Marshall—I was kept in confinement until Monday the 3d inst. about ten o'clock we waited on the Hon. John M'Nairy Esq. W. P. Smith present, who on oath was interrogated—questions and answers as follows: viz.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, do certify, that we were present at the examination of lieut. W. P. Smith, in his testimony against Zachariah Cox, before the Hon. Judge M'Nairy—at which time, in addition to what appears in his affidavit from under his hand; the following information was

given by him on oath, as we conceived; also, the following questions asked, and answers given, viz.

Mr. Cox having observed that he conceived that the treatment he had met with there was arbitrary—Mr. Smith addressed himself to the Judge, and said that he conceived Mr. Cox had been arbitrarily treated there—meaning at the Natchez.

1st Question by Judge M'Nairy.

Mr. Smith, how do you mean arbitrarily?

Answer. It appeared so to me.

2d Question by Judge M'Nairy.

In what manner do you conceive Mr. Cox was treated arbitrarily?

Answer—Because he was kept in confinement so long without having his charges made known to him, and refused a hearing, and liberty of giving bail, when offered as good as any in the country, and he thought by the laws of the country Mr. Cox, was entitled to it, or words to that purport.

3d Question, by Mr. Z. Cox's council.[56]

Do you of your own knowledge, know of any charge of a criminal nature against Mr. Cox?

Answer—He knew nothing of a public nature, but that he was informed Mr. Cox, and the settlers, had formed a committee, and had expelled a family from his settlement, and sent them to the Spanish government.

Zachariah Cox then observed—that he had always endeavored to support good order, and had quarrelled with some imprudent persons for speaking disrespectfully of government; and that in new settlements some bad men would be found—upon which

Mr. Smith arose from his seat, and addressing himself to Judge M'Nairy, said; that if it would be of any service to Mr. Cox, that he would further observe, that during Mr. Cox's residence at Smithland, there was frequent intercourse between him and the officers at Massac, and that the most perfect harmony subsisted between them; and that he had frequently heard of Mr. Cox's checking of men for speaking disrespectfully of government, and particularly knew he had differed with one

Mitchell<sup>63</sup> on that subject, and threatened to drive him away for his abuse of government.

4th Question, by Zachariah Cox.

Mr. Smith, was not the Chickasaw Indians employed to apprehend me.

Answer, by Mr. Smith:

Yes, I am informed they were, and that general Wilkinson had offered them a reward of three hundred dollars; and I believe there is still a reward in the Natchez and Chickasaw nation to apprehend you.

The above is the purport, and nearly the words [57] of Mr. Smith, delivered in our presence, and leaving [hearing] at the before mentioned period; though not included in the written copy from under his hand—Mr. Smith was then on oath before the Judge—and we have that confidence in Mr. Smith, that if he did not then conceive this to be a part of his testimony (which we cannot put any other construction upon) that he would not hesitate to declare it again on oath.

Given under our hands this 20th day of  
January, 1799

Ho. Tatum<sup>64</sup>  
John Gordon.

Proceedings of the general court martial whereof lieutenant colonel commandant John F. Hamtramck is President held at camp Loslies's [Loftus] heights<sup>65</sup> on the Mississippi on the 19th October 1798, and continued by adjournment until the 22d, by order of general James Wilkinson commanding general of the western army.

Lieutenant colonel Hamtramck President.

Major Kersy	} Members	{ Major Kingsberry	
Capt. Rukard			Cap. Shaumburgh
Capt. Wade			Lieut. Butler.

Lieut. Hyde<sup>66</sup> Judge advocate P. T. The court was duly

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<sup>63</sup>Cf. p. 86.

<sup>64</sup>For Howell Tatum, cf. p. 96; He was attorney general for the Miro District, Ramsey, p. 664.

<sup>65</sup>Loftus Heights was just above the 31st Parallel where Wilkinson constructed Ft. Adams at a cost of \$80,000, Steiner, p. 450.

<sup>66</sup>Charles Hyde of the First Regiment of Infantry, Hammersley, p. 48.



sworn and on the 20th, October Lieut. Percy Smith Pope<sup>67</sup> of the corps of artilarists and engineers appeared before it for trial upon the following charges exhibited against him by Major of Brigade Lovill<sup>68</sup> by order of General Wilkinson viz.

For neglect of duty in suffering Zachariah Cox a state prisoner to escape from the guard under his immediate command on the night of the 26th, September 1798. [58]

To which Lieut. Pope pleaded not Guilty.

Captain Demler being sworn says on the 18th of August last between the hours of twelve and one o'clock at night lieutenant Gregg and ensign Scott brought Zachariah Cox to Fort Panmuire under my command, lieut. Gregg shewed me his orders for apprehending Cox and for committing him to me to be put into confinement—Lieut. Pope was officer of the day and I directed him to go and have the Block house immediately prepared for the reception of Cox, which was immediately done and Cox confined in it.

My orders to the officer of the day respecting Cox were that nobody should see him or have any communications with him except the officer of the day, who was always to examine the prisoners provisions or clothes that were sent to him from Mrs. M'Kaibs previous to sending them to the Block-house which was always done in presence of the officer of the day—Cox was kept in this manner about ten days, when his health began to impair and upon the recommendation of the Doctors application was made, and permission granted by Governor Sergeant to allow Cox to walk in the Fort under the inspection of a commissioned officer which to the best of my knowledge was duly and faithfully executed by the respective officers of the day, or in their absence by me.

Quest. 1. by the Court; who was officer of the day when Cox made his escape.

Ans. Lieutenant Pope.

Quest. 2d where was lieutenant Pope when Cox made his escape.

Ans. from Mr. Pope's own information and that of lieutenant [Joseph] Campbell, he was in the Fort.

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<sup>67</sup>Cf. Quarterly, Vol. IV, p. 97.

<sup>68</sup>Lieutenant John M. Lovell of the Artillerists and Engineers.

Quest. 3d. In what manner did Cox escape.[59]

Answer On the 26th Mr. Pope came to the cols. to pay his respects to the General and was there about half an hour as he was going away I called him aside and told him I understood by some officers that Cox's settlement was broken up, and that several of his party was coming down in publick employ with the fleet—and begged him to pay particular attention to Cox on that day; Mr. Pope promised to do so, and went away, as I supposed to the Fort—I remained and dined with the General at the colonels—between seven and eight O'clock in the evening lieut. campbell came to capt. Hiths<sup>69</sup> quarters, and informed me that Cox had made his escape, I immediately reported it to Capt. Hith, the then senior officer; col. Hamtramck and capt. Guion having gone with the General to his boats—captain Hith immediately reported the circumstance to the colonel.

Quest. 4th. Was Cox at large during the night in custody of the officer of the day, or was he closely confined.

Ans. He was closely confined in the upper part of the block-house, and not allowed the privilege of a candle—a trap door separated him from 6 or 7 horse thieves, who was confined below.

Quest. 5th. at what time was Cox usually returned to close confinement in the block-house.

Ans. Generally between 7 and 8 o'clock, sometimes earlier and sometimes later in the evening, and not suffered to go out of his sight.

Ques. 6th. Had Cox any communication with any one by letter or otherwise during his confinement,

Ans. Yes, but always in presence of officers—he wrote one letter to governor Sergeant, and another [60] to judge Bruin in my presence. That for governor sergeant was given to col. Hamtramck, and that for the judge was delivered by me to him—I know of no other, except a small note written to his cousin, recommending some particular kind of medicine, he being sick.

6th. Did he ever receive any letter while in confinement, if so, in what manner & from whom.

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<sup>69</sup>John Heth of the Third Regiment of Infantry.

Ans. Yes, he received one from his relation which was in the first instance sent to the governor, then to col. Hamtramck, and delivered to Cox by me; it was read in my presence, and afterwards returned by me to the colonel (as I believe) he was denied the use of paper pen and ink during his confinement:— I requested the officers frequently to lock up their pens and ink when they went out, so that he could not use them.

Ques. 7th. From whom did lieut. Gregg receive his orders to apprehend and confine Cox.

Ans. From capt. Guion, the then commanding officer.

Ques. 8th. When Cox was brought to you to be confined was there any charge against him in writing left with you, or any particular mode for keeping him pointed out to you.

Ans. No—all the orders I gave to the officers under my command were descretionary, and such I believe were best calculated to secure him.

Quest. 9th. After you had by the Governor been permitted to let Cox walk about in the Fort in charge of a commissioned officer—did you ever receive any orders to return him into close confinement—

Ans. no.

#### Abstract.

To the proceedings of the court martial (which was handed me by lieut. W. P. Smith at Nashville) [61] to which is the signature of Charles Hyde lieut. 1st Regiment of Infantry and Judge advocate by which it appears lieut. P. S. Pope was honourably acquitted.

District of Tennessee December 3d, 1798.

United States	}	Warrant, to apprehend said Cox for high crimes & misdemeanors & for his escape from an arrest in the Mississippi District, Be it remembered that the examination of said Cox is postponed until the 22d day of Jan. '99, & that the said Zachariah Cox together with Howell Tatum & John Gordon his securities have entered into recognizance, Cox in 6,000 dollars, & each of his securities in the sum of 3,000, conditioned that the said Zachariah Cox shall appear before me on the day last above mentioned, or at any day previous upon having notice for further examination.
vs		
Zachr. Cox		



It is indorsed on the former recognizance thus:

"On the 22d. January 1799, Zachariah Cox appeared; and he Zachariah Cox & Howel Tatum and John Gordon his securities were again bound in the sum mentioned in the within recognizance, that the said Zachariah Cox shall appear before me John M'Nairy at my house on or before the 25th of Feby next and upon the conditions mentioned within."

Witness	Zachariah Cox	seal]
John M'Nairy	Ho. Tatum	seal]
A copy.	John Gordon	seal]

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This day personally appeared before me John Smith T who deposeth and sayeth that for seven or eight years past he has been intimately conversant with Zachariah Cox Esquire, during which time [62] he has supported the laws of his country with integrity & ever held himself amenable to them in all cases, and altho' illegally treated, and many imbarasments thrown in his way, by the officers of the Federal Government, and advised by me to seek a more favourable climate until the present persecution; he appeared determined to weather out the storm of illegal opposition, in pursuit of a just and legal interprise, with hopes that with the accomplishment of it, every ill founded prejudice would cease to exist, in proof to his fellow citizens of his attachment to them and his country to which his interest linked. To the best of my knowledge and belief Mr. Cox did not contemplate a settlement at the Muscle Shoals without the approbation of Government, as has been falsely represented—Nor do I know of, or believe Mr. Cox ever to have corresponded, or was conversant with Government or any of the citizens of France, or any other Power or citizens inimical to this government, as has been erroneously reported and industriously circulated—Mr. Cox's object in coming into the western country was a commercial establishment on principles since published by him. The lower trading port of the Muscle Shoals, was his object if the approbation of government could be obtained; if not his second object was on the Ohio below the mouth of Cumberland, above the Indian boundary, which last mentioned spot at considerable expence—I explored and improved for Mr. Cox in the year 1796.

For a commercial establishment, which was to my knowledge contemplated as early as that date, and further sayeth not.

January 28th, 1799.

sworn to before me

John M'Nairy.

signed Jno. Smith T.

January 28th, 1799.

A true copy. [63]

I arrived at Smithland about the 8th of April, 1798; when I first became acquainted with Mr. Zachariah Cox—shortly after my arrival, there was a party of riotous and bad characters collected in Smithland, who abused sundry good citizens & travellers; no civil officer being at or near the place—the orderly citizens collected and formed themselves into a society, for the purpose of keeping the town clear of those vagabonds and disorderly men, and by election appointed a committee for that purpose, and to arbitrate and determine controversies between the citizens, who might see cause to abide thereby; by which means the town was soon cleared of all infamous and riotous characters, & the greatest harmony & friendship existed among the citizens, & the strictest attention observed to strangers, particularly federal and all civil officers. The citizens used weekly on Saturday evenings to associate and muster for their own improvement, & to be prepared for defence, in case of an attack from the savages, which for sometime we had reason to apprehend—in such cases they generally nominated some men to act as temporary officers. Sometime in the month of June, a man by the name of Medad Mitchel, without authority (as I understood) made an attempt to organize the militia—Zachariah Cox being informed of the circumstance forbid the measure—observing that he (Mitchel) nor no other person there, was vested with that authority. Mr. Mitchel measurably persisting in his attempt, and frequently in all companies speaking disrespectful of government, and the officers of it, Z Cox told Mitchel that he was wrong, and ordered him to leave the settlement in consequence of his improper conduct—observing that such conduct would be injurious to the settlement [64] and settlers—Mitchel was afterwards restored to his citizenship, on promise that he would in future observe a proper conduct; and on making sundry acknowledgements to the citizens. About the last of June, col. Shelby was solicited by Z. Cox and the other citizens, to



organize the militia of Smithland agreeable to the laws of Kentucky.

On the 4th of July, col. Shelby made a visit to Smithland, appointed an election of officers which was effected, and the militia organized agreeable to the laws of the state. On the 15th of July, Z. Cox in company with sundry other citizens of Smithland, set out down the river Ohio, with a view (as I understood) of exploring the country west of the river Mississippi—the company being stopped from passing Massac by the federal military; col. Shelby was wrote on the subject, who came to Smithland in person, with J. Ramsey Esq. and together with Maj Gist, in company with sundry other citizens went to Massac, and obtained leave for Z Cox with his barge and crews to pass, which was effected as well by col. Shelby's approbation as by that of the officer of Massac; sundry others of the company at the same time passed the south east side of Ohio by land, under the authority of col. Shelby and the civil authority of the county of Christian, who joined their respective boats and crews some distance below Massac, from whence the company all proceeded on to New Madrid—but they not being able to procure a permit from the Spanish officer of that post, to explore the country west of the Mississippi, all returned except Z. Cox & 13 others who with myself descended the Mississippi in Cox's barge; on our arrival at Natchez, there was a current report among the citizens of that place, that the military troops intended to seize [65] Z. Cox and co. we continued at Natchez from the 11th until the 18th inst. on which night I was informed Z. Cox was seized in his bed by the military troops, and closely confined—his friends all made application to see him, or to know the charges against him, they were denied either. Z. Cox at length found means to make his escape from military oppression; I passed with him to New Orleans; I continued in Z. Cox's company until his arrival at Nashville; during which time I was intimately conversant with his negotiations and transactions—generally saw, and copied many of his corresponding letters, no part of which was to my knowledge derogatory to the interest or laws of his country, but in all cases he has professed the greatest love for his country and respect for the laws of it—which he has as far as comes to my knowledge supported with integrity and held himself amenable to. Some distance above Orleans we met a report that Z. Cox, with a body of men



was coming down the river, to plunder and harass the Spanish settlers, and the Spanish settlers appeared much alarmed. On our arrival at Orleans, the citizens told me that Gen. Wilkinson had wrote the Spanish government that Cox, at the head of a large number of brigands, was on the way to plunder the Spanish subjects; in consequence of which, the Spanish government had issued orders for the militia to hold themselves in readiness—soon after the arrival of Mr. Z. Cox at New Orleans, the citizens were reconciled that Wilkinsons information was false: we were treated politely by the citizens of Orleans, and the government—from whence we departed for the United States by way of the Mobile; on our arrival at Mobile, I was informed that a man by the name of Welch, who [66] lives in the Mobile settlements, had in possession a rifle gun, that was stole from Z. Cox by a Robert Cledsdale in the time of his confinement at Natchez; the said Cledsdale being persuaded by Welch, departed from Natchez (as I was informed) in company with him. Sometime previous to their departure, said Welch was looking at the guns that belonged to the men who descended the river with Z. Cox, and at the same time observed that Cledsdale's was the handsomest he had ever seen; Mr. Church and myself informed him that Cledsdale had no gun, but the gun he alluded to was the property of Mr. Z. Cox. The said Welch as I was informed, acted as an agent for Gov. Sergeant.

(A copy)

Signed—Amos Edwards.

Sworn to before me, this  
1st day of February, 1799.  
john M'Nairy.

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About the 20th day of April A. D. 1798, I arrived at the town of Smithland on the Ohio river, when I first became acquainted with col. Z. Cox, to whom I had sundry letters of introduction, being also interested in the Tennessee purchase in a small degree, I made enquiries of col. Cox, with respect to that business, and what were his prospects respecting forming a settlement at the Muscle Shoals; col. Cox told me that sundry applications made by himself, was then before the President of the U. S. soliciting leave to extinguish the Indian claim on a part of the Tennessee purchase, & to settle the same, the fate of said application was not yet known but he was in hopes that at the

present treaty to be held with the Cherokee Indians, the President would grant his petition, provided the Indians could be reconciled to the measure. I asked col. Cox the [67] encouragement given to settlers at Smithland, he sold me one lot in town —& on the citizen improving the same, and living there 12 months, they should each be entitled to a bounty of 1,001 acres of land in the Tennessee purchase, in the tract of country set apart for emigrants, provided the said citizen should settle upon, or cause the same to be settled upon and improved the ensuing season after a settlement could be effected consistent with the approbation of Government; being at that time in no business, I joined with col. Cox, to become one of the settlers at Smithland: & by my own request I received a permit from col. Cox, to bring forward 25 emigrants, on the conditions above stated; I never heard col. say, or intimate any thing like forcing a settlement at the Muscle Shoals, but to the contrary, that the measure could nor would not be attempted, until the approbation of Government was first obtained; & that if it was not the policy of government to admit the measure at that time, it would come in some future day, the property would then be good, in the mean while a lot in Smithland would reward the emigrants, as they could then employ themselves to advantage during the year, which would give a spring to the town, which was supposed would be a good commercial stand, for which purpose, I understood col. Cox intended to settle at sld. [Smithland] himself until such time, as a settlement of the M. Shoals, could be carried into effect, by consent of Government. The encouragement proposed by col. Cox in a short time drew a considerable number of emigrants to Smithland, I carried myself, about 30 men of good characters, all of whom received their lot promised—, and most of them improved the same. The orderly citizens previous to my last arrival at Sld. had [68] formed themselves into an association, and chosen a committee for the purpose of keeping out of town riotous and bad characters, and settling controversies between such of the citizens as might think proper to abide thereby—sundry riotous and infamous characters was expelled from the town, by which means the orderly citizens enjoyed the most perfect peace and harmony. The citizens used on Saturday evenings to associate and muster for their own improvement, as well as to be prepared for defence in case of an attack from the Indians, which for some time we



had reason to apprehend. Some time in the month of June, a man by the name of Medad Mitchel made an attempt to organize the militia, and solicited me to join him for that purpose—I understood said Mitchell that he was to stand as Maj. of a battalion—he (Mitchel) in a remote part of the town, had a number of citizens collected for that purpose, and was in the execution of the object—I not being acquainted with the motives, went to col. Cox and informed him of the circumstance, at which col. Cox appeared much irritated, observing that Mitchel certainly had a design to destroy the peace and reputation of all the citizens. The col. sent me requesting Mitchel to desist in his pursuit, and to come to him, which he Mitchel did.

col. Z. Cox abused Mitchel very much for his conduct, told him the impropriety of such a measure, and the improper use that might be made of it, & ordered Mitchel in consequence thereof to leave the ground, for the above conduct, and his abuse of Government and the officers of it—which he Mitchel repeatedly exercised in all companies and places, although frequently checked by Z. Cox, in [69] my presence—said Mitchel was again restored to citizenship on making sundry acknowledgments to the citizens, and pledging himself most solemnly that he would observe a proper conduct in future. The latter end of June col. Z. Cox and sundry other citizens of Smithland, sent a messenger to col. Shelby, requesting him to come to Smithland, and organize the militia, agreeable to the laws of Kentucky: col. Shelby made us a visit the 4th of july, called a general muster, and I believe legally organized as many as five companies, amongst the number myself was one—and from col. Shelby I received a certificate to stand at the head of one company as capt. The regulations of the town and settlements being now legally and well organized; col. Cox made a proclamation of his intended route to New Orleans for commercial objects (as I understood) and that he intended on his route to spend the summer and fore part of the fall in exploring the country West of the river Mississippi, provided the approbation of the Spanish government could be obtained. Provisions being rather scarce at Smithland, a number of citizens expressed a desire to accompany col. Cox, and accordingly prepared for the route—I being among the number, on our descent of the river Ohio; the federal troops forbid Z. Cox and company passing the garrison: col. Cox and several of the officers of Kentucky



organized in col. Shelby's regiment, wrote him, soliciting his advice; col. Shelby in company with J. Ramsey Esq. made us a visit—they went to Massac in company with Major Gist and sundry other citizens, and obtained leave for col. Cox with his barge, the boats and thirty odd men to pass, col. Cox accordingly passed Massac with the boats; all the rest of the company passed by land on the East side of Ohio, through Christian county [70] by col. Shelby's order and request—they joined col. Cox some short distance below Massac—we proceeded on to New Madrid; col. Cox waited on the Spanish officer of that place, who treated the company very politely. The Spanish commander at New Madrid not being authorized to admit Z. Cox and company to explore the country West of the river Mississippi (as I was informed) the company all returned except col. Cox and 13 others, who descended the river Mississippi: myself being one of the company who returned to Smithland; on our arrival at Massac, we fell in company with General Wilkinson, by whose orders we were arbitrarily disarmed—our trunks and saddle-bags searched, one of which was cut open, the owner not being present:

They also broke open sundry sealed letters, & our goods and property was shamefully abused, our pockets picked by military power—my certificate as captain, received from col. Shelby was taken out of my pocket, by Lieut. W. P. Smith, with military force at the point of the bayonet.

I demanded the paper afterwards which was denied and never returned to me, we being at length liberated—returned to Smithland. During the time of my acquaintance with Z. Cox I never knew him speak, or suggest anything inimical to Government, but in all cases he has professed the highest love for his country, and respect for the laws of it, which he has as far as comes to my knowledge supported with integrity, and ever held himself amenable to.

Sworn to before me, this                      signed Wm. Cumpton.<sup>70</sup>

1st day of February, 1799

john M'Nairy.

(A copy)

(To be continued.)

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<sup>70</sup>Cf. note 34.

## I.

### [PLAN OF OPERATIONS.<sup>1</sup>]

Whereas the State of Georgia, on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, DID Gove and Grant unto Zachariah Cox and Matthias Maher, and their associates, called the TENNESSEE COMPANY, their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tennants all that TRACT of PARCEL of LAND, including islands, situate, lying and being within the following boundaries, that is to say BEGINNING at the mouth of Bear Creek, on the south side of the Tennessee river; thence up the said creek to the most southern source thereof; thence a due south course to the latitude of thirty-four degrees and ten minutes north of the Equator; thence a due east Course, one hundred and twenty miles; thence a due north course to the Great Tennessee river; thence up the middle of the said river to the northern boundary line of this state; thence a due west course along the said line, to where it intersects the Great Tennessee river, below the Muscle Shoals; thence up said river to the place of beginning—together with all and singular rights, members and appertenances whatsoever to the said parcel of land, being, belonging, or in any wise appertaining to hold to them the said Zachariah Cox and Matthias and their associates, called the Tennessee Company, their heirs and assigns forever, in fee simple, as tenants in common, and not as joint tennants, as in and by the siad recited grant.

THE SAID ZACHARIAH COX, IN BEHALF OF HIMSELF AND MATTHIAS MAHER BEING anxious to feciliate permanent settlements within the limits of the said purchase, and to secure the approbation of the Natives to the measure, DO, for that purpose, indend legally to pass down the river Tennessee, explore the same, and ascertain certain points that may be convenient for commercial stands, and a friendly intercourse with the Chickasaw nation of Indians, as the more

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<sup>1</sup>The name is suggested by Cox's letter to Sevier. Cf. p. 98.

easy and pleasant mode of securing from them, under the authority of the United States, a relinquishment of their right of soil to the said Tennessee purchase. The two points mostly contemplated for commercial posts at present are; One at the lower trading post of the Muscles Shoals at the mouth of Oakochappo river, on the circle of land ceded to the United States by the Chickasaw nation of Indians, at the treaty of Hopewell.<sup>2</sup> The other on the Ohio river, above the line described between the frontiers and Indians, at the distance of about six miles above the mouth of the river Tennessee—for the former, an application now lies before the President of the United States; and if deemed policy to grant, will be the most desirable spot, the consent of the Chickasaws being already obtained; otherwise the latter will be made to answer the purpose contemplated as above. And although not immediately in the company's purchase, it will be a proper stand for extensive commerce—the rendezvous of emigrants down the river Ohio—and friendly intercourse with the Indians, by which means the settlement of the purchase in a short time will be more easily effected, to the entire satisfaction of the natives under the authority of government.— To protect the company from savage hostilities on their rout down the river Tennessee, and at the trading post, wherever established, a number of men will be wanting; For their accommodations and encouragement of emigrants, the grantees of the said purchase have thought proper to set apart the following tract of country, (within the limits of their purchase) viz. BEGINNING on the south side of the Tennessee river, below the Muscle Shoals, opposite the upper end of Long Island and the mouth of White Bluff creek, running thence DUE SOUTH three thousand five hundred chains; thence due EAST two thousand chains; thence DUE NORTH to the Main Tennessee river; thence down the said river to the place of beginning, estimated to include about five hundred and fifty

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<sup>2</sup>Oakochappo River was also known as Bear Creek. The Treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees was signed November 28, 1785, but was unpopular in Tennessee, for many who had settled in the region as the result of previous agreements found themselves by this treaty on Indian ground. The federal government aimed to conciliate the Indians and bring protection to the settlers, but accomplished neither purpose. Cf. Phelan, p. 39. In connection with Cox's proposals the maps in Winsor's *Westward Movement*, pp. 522, 545, are of interest.



thousand (550,000) acres, excluding Islands, to be laid off into three divisions, in manner following, that is to say:—

DIVISION NO One—Beginning on the south side of the river Tennessee, at the mouth of Ockochappo, which fall into the said river Tennessee, at the lower end of the Muscles Shoals, running thence down the said river Tennessee one hundred chains; thence due south two hundred chains; thence due south [east] two hundred chains; thence due north to the said river Tennessee; thence down the same to the place of beginning, estimated to include five thousand acres of land, wherein shall be laid out a town, by the name of OCKOCHAPPO, to contain three thousand lots, of one acre each.

DIVISION No. TWO—Is bounded as follows; Beginning on the south side of the river Tennessee, at the second course of division No. ONE; thence down said river two hundred chains; thence due south three hundred and twenty-five chains; thence due east seven hundred chains; thence due north to the Tennessee river; thence down the river Tennessee to the east boundary of division No. One; thence around the said division to the place of beginning, estimated to include about thirty thousand acres, to be laid off into 600 lots, of fifty acres each, All the remaining tract of country, set apart for emigrants, as aforesaid to be the Third Division, and laid off into lots which shall contain two hundred, and two hundred and fifty acres each.— To each able bodied man, of good character, who shall attend me on the present expedition down the river Tennessee, and continue in the company's employ, the term of twelve months, for the purpose herein before mentioned, I will allow a bounty of One thousand acres of land in the aforesaid tract of country, set apart for emigrants, to be granted and given in manner following, that is to say:

In Division No. One, town of Ockochappo, one,  
one acre lot.

In Division No. Two, a lot of fifty acres, 50 acres

In Division No. Three, three tracts of two hundred and fifty acres each, 750 acres

And one tract of two hundred acres in said division, No. Three, 200 acres

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Bounty to each man, exclusive of the lot in town, 1000 acres

It is to be understood, that the men and emigrants shall continue with the company twelve months; and during the said term find themselves in good provision, clothing, and a gun, with a sufficient ammunition for their own private use—I will secure them BOATS for conveyance of themselves and provisions, and find ammunition for defence.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately the men arrives at the destined place of settlement they shall receive a Deed of Conveyance for the one, one acre lot; the fifty acre lot, and the two hundred acre lot—For the balance say, three lots of 250 acres each, they shall receive Deeds at the expiration of the term of twelve months;—A preference of choice to be given by impartial lottery. [The following is written or added to the above in red ink in long hand—R. T. Q. Jr.]

It is hereby expressly understood that no survey or settlement on the aforesaid Lands shall take place until the appropriation of Congress is had to the measure.

..... Is hereby fully authorized to raise a company of ..... men on the conditions and terms above Menitoned to pass with me down the river Tennessee. I do promise and oblige myself to make or cause to be made emigrant of their Heirs titles in fee simple for the quantity of land above stipulated.

Given under my hand this ..... day  
of ..... A. D.

Signed Z. C. Grantee V. C. [Vice Company]  
[True Copy]

## II.

JAMES ROBERTSON TO JOHN SEVIER.

Nashville April 15th 1797

Sir

inClosed you have letter from the Chickasaws the Barrers which are five Chickasaws, inform me that Woolfs Friend desired I might open your excellencys letter, as the Barrer had a virbel message to me, to let your excellency know the In-croachment, on their land was meant, Mr Cox and Co:—as they ware informed preparations, were makeing at Knoxville,

to Take settelors to the Bent of Tennessee, and to informe you that should Mr Cox, or any other person, make Attempt to Settel thare that the Chickasaw nation, will a meadiately strike them as they have given him notis, not to do it, and thay wish your excellency to give him such notise and that Mr Cox is to have no dependence on a few Chickasaws granting him permission, for such permission is not By the consent of the Chickasaw Nation and Sir it is my opinion if Mr Cox should make such attempts, that Blood will Be Emeadiately, shed, and perhaps Cause an Indian War no [on] the united States, I hope Mr Cox good sence will dictate to him that this is a very unfavourable time, and that a few years may turn up much more in his favour—my Brother Elijah Robertson, departed this life yesterday, he has had a sever attact of the Jandies, on that exses of drinking, sperits, As we are now with out a Judge and it is with in your province, to appoint one, Major Howel Tatom<sup>3</sup> has informed me, he will serve till next Assembly, if your excellency should think proper to give him such Commission. I shall still Expect and hope to see you at May Cort— I am your Excellencys very Humble Servant

Jas Robertson

Governer Sevier

### III.

#### JOHN SEVIER TO ZACHARIAH COX.

Zachariah Cox Esquire.

Knoxville 20 August 1797

Sir,

Since your arrival in this State various reports are in Circulation respecting an intended expedition you are about to make.<sup>4</sup>

It appears to be a matter of importance to this Government, (Through part of which I am informed you intend your route) to become acquainted and informed of your intentions and place of destination;

I flatter myself you will have no objections to communicate, and lay before the executive of this State the plan of your in-

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<sup>3</sup>See p. 81. He received the appointment. Cf. Ramsey, p. 689.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. p. 51, based on reports to the Secretary of War. A number of transfers of land were made by Cox during this year. Cf. *Am. State Paps. Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 211, *et seq.*



tended operations and movements, at what place you intend making a stand or settlement and by what authorith you execute the same.— You will not consider this application as arising from any doubt in me, that your equipments or operations are intended to be inimical, to this, or the United States, I conceive it a duty I owe the public, and the State over which I have the honor to preside, to become acquainted with a circumstance, which appears pregnant, with importante consequences and events; of which I hope you will have no objections.

I have the Honor etc

JOHN SEVIER

Zachariah Cox esqr

[Letter Book of John Sevier.]

IV.

ZACHARIAH COX TO JOHN SEVIER.

John Sevier Esqr.

Jonesborough, State of Tennessee

August the 31st, 1797.

SIR

Yours of the 20th instant lies now before me.— As no doubt before this you have been made acquainted with the circumstances of a purchase made from the State of Georgia by Matthias Maher and myself, including the lands lying on both sides of the river Tennessee; I conceive it unnecessary to trouble you with a detail of that measure.— Being desirous to explore that Country as far as may be practicable consistant with the laws of my Country, I have at considerable expence prepared for the rout.— The objects I have in view are, to ascertain the situation of the country, quality of soil, and most convenient points for commercial establishments; that may lead to general commerce with the citizens of this western Country; and frendly intercourse with those Natives who calin [claim] the tract of country purchased as aforesaid.— The two points now in contemplation are, one at the lower trading Port of the Muscle Shoals, on the circle of Land ceded to the United States by the Chickasaw Nation of Indians at the Treaty of Hopewell; the other on the Ohio river above the line, described between the Indians and frontiers, at the distance of about six miles above

the mouth of the river Tennessee. For the former an application now lies before the President of the United States, and if Granted will be the most desirable spot the consent of the Chickasaws being already obtained; otherwise the latter will be my place of destination; under the authority of migrating to lands, Granted by the State of Virginia now in Kentucky.

Addressing Myself to you Sir who have been much conversent with the genius of the Indians; I entertain no doubt you will see the necessity of my going down the river Tennessee, prepared to resist Hostilities; My conduct and of those I take along with me shall to the natives be unoffensive; and my arms, accept my assurance, shall only be employed defensively.—

The impossibility of conveying means of support, except by water has rendered it necessary that the equipments should be made within the limits of this State, over which you Preside, and anxious as I am to avoid every thing that might justly excite the jealousy of the general; of give offence to the State Government, I take the liberty of soliciting your permission to pass through your State for the accomplishment of an object that I flatter Myself will always tend to promote the interest of this Country.

The Plan of my intended operations, more fully defened, you will receive inclosed, having wrote you some few weeks previous to leaving Georgia, touching the outlines of the same; and not receiving from the President an answer to my application; I hope will be a sufficient appllogy for my not having laid them before you sooner.

With the highest sence of respect,

I have the Honor to be

Your most obedient and

very Humble Servant

ZACHARIAH COX.

N. B. To those of my fellow Citizens who are desirous—interested with me; I have issued permissions of which you have inclosed a true copy.—One stock of Merchandize already made up for the commercéal establishemnt ammounts to above thirty five thousand Dollars and from the encouragement my plan has met with, I hope to be able to pass down the river with a stock of fifty Thousand Dollars and men sufficient, in a short time to raise a village of perfect security. If successful I shall

soon be supplied with a much larger sum from my correspondants abroad. Please to write me your opinion on the subject, be expected as I shall feel myself bound to act up to such instructions as you in your superior Judgement shall see cause to give.

I have the honor to be etc,  
ZACH COX.<sup>4a</sup>

[From the original.]

V.

JOHN SEVIER TO ZACHARIAH COX.

Zachariah Cox esquire  
SIR

Knoxville 25 November 1797.

Your favor of yesterday is now before me, wherein you give information that you are desirous of having a meeting of the Tennessee adventurers at this place, in order to explain and regulate the objects contemplated by the company; You are to solicit my Approbation of the Measure, And Say you will conduct the whole business in the presence of one or two Magistrates. permit me to inform you, Sir that on the conditions you have proposed, I have no objections to the measure; on proviso, your conduct shall not be inimical to this State, or the United States.

I have the honor to be Sir  
Your obedt., Servt  
JOHN SEVIER.

[From the original rough draft by Sevier.]

VI.

JOHN SEVIER TO JOHN McNAIRY.

Knoxville 8 December 1797

Sir

The enclosed is a copy of an instrument of Writing<sup>5</sup> given by a certain Tucker to one Vance, it is said the former is one of Zachariah Cox's party.

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<sup>4a</sup> Ramsey (p. 691) states that no answer to Sevier's letter appears in his Executive Journal.

<sup>5</sup>Possibly a copy of the authorization given at the close of the "Plan of Operations." Cf. pp. 55, 95.



This writing was Lodged with me by Colonel Butler<sup>6</sup> requesting that inquiry be made into the propriety of intering into such engagements.

I therefore take the liberty of laying it before the Judge of the district, in order to have his opinion and advice on the same.

I have the honor to be sir

With high Esteem & respect

Your Honor's mo Obedt Servt.

JOHN SEVIER.

Honorable Judge McNairy.

## VII.

### JOHN SEVIER TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Sir

Knoxville 22 January 1798.

I discover in the Secretaries report,<sup>7</sup> he effects to have apprehendid great danger from a party being about to settle at or Near the Muscel Shoals, intimating that the executive was possessed of information on that head, which menaced the United States in An extensive Indian War—I make no doubt you are fully apprized that the Executive, early after the Arrival of Zachariah Cox in this State, applied to him to be informed where he intended Making a Stand, and by what Authority he conceived himself Authorized to take such Measures as he was then about to pursue—his Answer was laid before the Assembly which appeared to be Satisfactory, and that he did not intend violating the laws of his country, and was ready to give sufficient Security for a regular conduct, should it be required. I presume whatever May be reported, it is well to all those who have had any knowledge of Mr Cox's conduct, that it has been his Uniform declaration that he had no wish or desire, to transgress the laws of the Union, nor of any particular State. And that he should not proceed until Authorized by the laws of his country—Another great discovery has been made, or pretended, that is, Chisolm<sup>8</sup> had enlisted one thousand men to rendezvous at

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<sup>6</sup>See p. 102.

<sup>7</sup>The report of James McHenry, the Secretary of War.

<sup>8</sup>Documents relating to Blount's Conspiracy and the part taken therein by John D. Chisholm are published in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. X, p. 574 *et seq.*

Knoxville, in order to Attack the Floridas; As you are Acquainted and satisfied how little Credit the report deserves, I shall not trouble you farther than to observe, that if the British had not More friends in Philadelphia, than they have in Tennessee, our commerce, and Tranquility as a Nation, would not be Menaced in the Daring & insulting manner, that is daily experianced:—

The Act for regulating trade and intercourse with the indian tribes, and for preserving peace on the frontiers, will expire some time in May, excepting Congress adjourn before that period, if so, Not until the end of the next session. I hope this infamous Act will not be received, [renewed?] it has given more umbridge to the people of this State, than any Act ever passed since the independence of America, And there has went more hunters over the line this year, I believe toen to one, than at any former period, and should the Act continue in force another year, the poor indians in my opinion will scarcely have a bear, or a deer left.

It is my opinion the peltry received the present year at Tellico factory, would scarcely defray the expences of five Waggons from this to Philadelphia,<sup>9</sup> the frontier people, except a very few patiently wait with daily expectation of hearing some favorable news.

I have the honor to be with great  
Esteem—your obedt. servt.

JOHN SEVIER.

The secretary will please to make out three copies.

Copy of letter to members of Congress.

[Copied from the original rough draft as written by John Sevier.]

## VIII.

JOHN SEVIER TO JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Dr. Sir

Knoxville 28 March 1798.

Yours of the 20 Jany Ultimo, with a letter enclosed to Zachariah Cox, I was honored with on the 20th inst.

I am truly sensible of the efforts you and your colleagues have made in behalf of our Suffering friends lately removed

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<sup>9</sup>For the probable expenses of this cf. p. 40.

from off their farms, I hope they will soon obtain leave to return— Watts is here on a visit, and seems friendly disposed as to the treaty— I am proud to hear the president seems to interest himself in favor of the people, and feels for their sufferings; and in case he should use his influence to make & have the Tennessee the line it will for ever endear him to the people of this Country.

I have nothing now, [new] or worth communicating. The Indians appear pacific in the extreme— I will be more full in My next— Mr Cox's letter I will have safely delivered.

I have the honor to be

With the highest sentiments of esteem

Your mo. obdt., Servt.

Honorable  
M. Anderson.<sup>10</sup>

JOHN SEVIER.

## IX.

### JOHN SEVIER TO JAMES MCHENRY.

Knoxville 18th Sept 1798.

Sir

Your favor of 23 March, with two inclosed copies of letters to Butler & Dinsmore,<sup>11</sup> came to hand only on the 15th instant, had the letter come forward in time, I should have done myself the honor of replying in due season,— It is long since well known, that the Executive of the State of Tennessee, have taken measures to be informed of the intended movements of Zachariah Cox, and could not discover, any intention of Settling at the Muscle Shoals, unless permitted by Government. And it is scarcely supposable that Cox could be ignorant enough to hazard such an entorprize on any other principle. I expected it had been sufficient after announcing to Colo. Butler, that Cox nor his adherants would not be countenanced in making

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<sup>10</sup>There is a possibility that the "M" simply represents "Mr.," and that this is Joseph Anderson. For a letter of protest by Senator Cocke against the removal of settlers from the Indian lands during the preceding October cf. Steiner, p. 268.

<sup>11</sup>Silas Dinsmore the Indian agent to the Choctaws. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, Vol. I, p. 459. He had little faith that Sevier would carry out the Indian policy of the federal government. Cf. Steiner, p. 262.



any such Settlement, unless permitted by the General Government.

It is a fact that an Application was made for permission to pass down the rivers with Coxe's large Boat (or Vessel) Notwithstanding I was well evinced they had no intention to make any stand until arrived within the State of Kentucky, near the mouth of Cumberland to a place they were authorized to settle, yet, the permission was refused, lest some alarm might be created on the emberkation of the Boat.<sup>12</sup>

It is unnecessary for me to say, it is impossible any opinion can be harbored, that my official conduct would in any measure countenance a thing that would so Materially effect, and Menace, the Measures of the General Government, who may be assured, I shall at all times, be watchfull of her interests, honor, and safety.

With great respect I have the honor to be

Sir

James McHenry esqr  
Secty of the War  
Department

Your most obedient servant  
JOHN SEVIER

[From the Original.]

## X.

### DEPOSITION OF ROBERT PRIOR.<sup>13</sup>

Personally appeared before me Charles Hyde Lieutenant in the First Regiment of the Army of the UNITED STATES, and Judge advocate Pro tempore, Robert Prior, of full age, who deposeth and sayeth, That on or about the 9th of July 1798. He engaged Himself as a Carpenter in the Service of Zachariah Cox at a place Called Smith-Land on the ohio below the mouth of Cumberland River, for the Sum of Eighteen Dollars per month with the promise that if He would work on a Vessel Called the floating Battery—he Cox would give him one Dollar

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<sup>12</sup>Cf. pp. 52, 76, 114.

<sup>13</sup>It was upon the deposition of Prior and that of Wickliff which follows, that Governor Sargent based his unsuccessful request for Cox's extradition. These depositions strongly attacking Cox should be compared with those in his favor (pp. 85-91. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, Vol. I, pp. 101-105, 167.

per day until she was finished— In building this Vessel the upper Timbers proved too weighty for her and she Sunk, Cox endeavoured to get her up but in vain— He then Collected about one hundred and Sixty Armed men of his party, and rendezvous'd about Six Miles below Smith-Land, those men were then drawn up on the Bank of the River ohio, and addressed by Captain Hancock who was a Member of a Council formed by Z. Cox at that time—the particulars of the address—I do not now recollect, but the substance was as I remember, respecting a Settlement Z. Cox intended to make in the Spanish Country on White River where he said he intended to build Several Block houses, after Hancock had finished, Major Gist proposed an oath or affirmation, in Substance as near as I can recollect as follows— “To Support Z. Cox in all his conduct relative to making a Settlement in the Spanish Country, and to Keep Secret all and every part of his conduct or Schemes” Major Gist then drew up the party on a Hill, examined the Arms, and Shewed them a Sign which Z. Cox's men might be known, which was by Shaking hands in a particular manner, Z. Cox then went from right to left of the line with Flints, and Supplied the whole with good flints, and directed the men to get their guns in good order & not to fire thier pieces—while this party was preparing at Smith-Land to Descend the Ohio, I enquired of Captain Mariton Clark in whose Company I had engaged, where we were going, and what we were to do,— He replied to me He could not tell, for that on asking Colonel Cox the same Question, He answered Clark, if the Shirt on my back, knew my thoughts I would take it off and burn it.— Z. Cox then dispatched Major Gist, and Colonel Shelby, to Fort Massac to get leave of the Commandant to pass down the River by the garrison,— They returned and informed Z. Cox they could not get leave, Colo. Shelby then gave Z. Cox a passport Cox then Spoke as Follows, well Boys by God we will go by, Damn the Ordnance of the garrison of Fort Massac, if they fire on us, and hurt one of my men, there Shall not be a red patch on this Side of the Mountain in Six Months (meaning the Continental troops) but a number of the men refused to go being apprehensive they would be killed or wounded, then another Council was held—the result of which was a Second application to the Commandant of Fort Massac for permission for Eleven men to go down the River which was granted, and when they embarked they had

a number of guns in a Box in the Boat that was not discovered by the officer of the day at Massac, The Balance of the party marched by Land on the South Side of the Ohio, about three Miles from the River and Joined the Boat about two miles below Fort Massac, during this march I was a Spy with Some others, to guard the march of the party, our duty was to Spy the movements of the Federal Troops, and to give notice if they attempted to prevent the march when the party reached the Boat we all embarked and proceeded down the Ohio & Mississippi to new Madrid a Spanish Post— There Cox had Several Days Conference with the Spanish officer, after which he proceeded down the River with a Barge & men for his Crew, and the rest of the party returned to the Ohio River—when we reached the Chickasaw Bluffs<sup>14</sup> Cox halted at the Spanish post and sent Captain W. Cox and Some men of whom I was one to the american Fort on the opposite side of the River, W. Cox Shew[ed] Colonel Shelby's pass to the Commandant— The Commandant enquired what he was Loaded with, his reply was merchandise Such as Saddles and Bridles, on which I was allowed to pass, Z. Cox did not visit the Garrison but remained on the Spanish Side one night and part of two days, where he Supplied himself and Party with provision, Cox, then proceeded on to the mouth of the Yazoo River where he Stopped half a Day for the purpose of passing the Garrison of the Walnut-Hills in the Night— He (Cox) for this purpose ordered his men to get their arms in good order & if they were hailed in passing the Fort not to Answer, but if they were fired on from the Garrison to return the fire. In passing the garrison Several of the party Stood by their arms, and I in getting up from Sleep to get my gun made some nois, for which I was threatened by the Captain W. Cox of [and?] Edwards,<sup>15</sup> Z. Coxes Secretary, to be thrown overboard, if I did not desist, when we had passed the Fort I received a Severe lecture from the Colo. for the noise I had made, we reach Natchez on of about the Sixth of August 1798. and Cox ordered his party not to go near the Federal Garrison, about nine days after Cox arrived, Lieutenant [-Colonel] Butler Cane down the River to Natchez, when Z. Cox heard of it, he said that he should be made prisoner, the ensuing night which was the Case. I heard Z. Cox enquire of X. [W.?] Cox if He was

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<sup>14</sup>The site of modern Memphis.

<sup>15</sup>Probably Amos Edwards. Cf. pp. 86-88.



to raise a party to force a Settlement on his land in Tennessee, which the United States had heretofore prevented if he would go and X. Cox answered in the affirmative.

Mississippi Territory.

Robert Prior about 22 years of Age, and Citizen of the United States presented himself before me Daniel Clark<sup>16</sup> one of the Conservators of the Peace for the Territory aforesaid,—praying to be allow'd to swear to the precedeing deposition which he had made some time ago before Lieut Charles Hyde as aforesaid occasionally Judge Advocate of the Western Army under the Command of His Excellency General James Wilkinson, which I have agreed to, and the said Robert Prior has accordingly on the Holly Evangelist of Almighty God deposed and said, that the foregoing Deposition is Strictly true in Word & Substance, And that he is not influenced by fear favor or affection, by Hatred Malace of ill Will, or the Hope of Reward in swearing to the facts set forth in the aforesaid Deposition,

ROBERT PRIOR.

Sworn before me the 12th Day

of January 1799 With my

Hand & Seal

Daniel Clark

Conserealor [vator] of the Peace.

[Manuscript Copy.]

## XI.

### DEPOSITION OF MARTIN H. WICKLIFF.<sup>17</sup>

Personally appeared before me, at Fort Massac on the ninth of August 1798.— Martin H. Wickliff formerly an Inhabitant of Washington County in the State of Kentucky, now

<sup>16</sup>A wealthy citizen of the Natchez District who took a leading position in the disturbances that marked the transfer of the region from Spanish to American sovereignty. He was the first to introduce the cotton gin in to the district. He was uncle to the Daniel Clark of New Orleans. Cf. *Miss. Ter'l Archives*, Vol. I, pp. 80, 101.

<sup>17</sup>It is evidently upon Wickliff's deposition that Wilkinson founds his charge against Cox of "creating tribunals . . . to inflict punishments unknown to the nation." Cf. Wilkinson to Sargent, August 2, 1798, *Am. State Paps. Misc.*, I, pp. 358, 359.

resident at Massac, who being duly Sworn deposeth, and sayeth, that on the fourth day of June last I was at Smithland, known by the name of Cox's Settlement, with a Boat and Crew, engaged for a Voyage up the Cumberland river to Nashville— Just as I was ready to start, one of my men refused to go with me, and called for a Settlement, I refused to pay him until he had fulfilled his Contract with me—he then threatned to strike me” “upon which I picked up a knife in my own defence, and told the man I would” “use it upon him, if he struck me. Major Gist who was setting by, called upon some person to call the Serjeant of the Guard, and to put those men under Guard, meaning my Boatman, and myself—Serjt Patterson immediately appeared with five men, armed with Rifles, and said to me it was Major Gist's orders that I should be confined, I told him I would not go to the Guard House, unless I was carried there dead, they then took the other man John Merrifield, and carried him to the Guard house. Soon After Patterson Appeared again with an Armed party & told the Deponent, Major Gist's orders must be executed,—in Which he was backed by some of his party, I still refused going to the Guard house, (as they Called it) and stepped off with an intention to go to Colonel Cox's, when one of the party cocked his Gun, on which I stopped as some person standing by, & known to me, advised me to Stand still, and Patterson informed me, he would not take me to the Guard house, I on this remained in their Custody some time, when word was brought that Major Gist wanted to see me under a Shade, a Small distance off— I was then marched to the shade, by Sergeant Patterson & the Guard, but Major Gist was not there,— The man who threatened me was then in Custody. Patterson then desired me to remain & said I should soon be released— In a few minutes after some man came, and told Patterson it was Major Gist's desire the Prisoners should be released, & that he would be glad to see them to take a drink of Grog at any time— I was with the other prisoner accordingly released, and immediately sent off my Boat— The man who was engaged, being sobered, embarked and performed his duty— I followed this Boat with another Craft, and reached the Mouth of Cumberland River late in the evening, this is about three miles above Smithland—about Eight O'Clock in the Evening Captain William Cox came up to us, with a party of Armed Men, and took a man of my Boat Crew



Prisoner, who had been engaged by John Logan, to go in my Boat to Nashville—my Crew made objections to his being carried back—and the use of Arms was offered by Captain Cox, if they attempted to rescue him,— He was accordingly put on Board of the Boat in which Cox had come up, and was carried back to the Settlement.— The next morning this man returned back to the Mouth of Cumberland, and informed me that he had been carried back to the Settlement on the Tennessee by Captain Cox, and the reason why he was carried back, was his not asking a furlough, or leave of Absence of Captain Cox,— Then I dispatched my Boat up the Cumberland & returned to Smithland— In the course of the afternoon I was questioned by some persons as to what I intended to do—and I answered I would endeavour to get Satisfaction by the Civil Law, and if it could not be had that way, I would represent it to Colonel Hamtramck the Commanding Officer at Fort Massac—Soon after this, and after night, a person called Captain Washburn, with a Sword by his side, come into the room where I was, and in presence of Thomas Wilson informed me, he wished to speak to me, I accordingly stepped out with him, soon after which he took me by the hand, and said to me, my friend you are a prisoner— On which I looked about and observed a Number of Armed Men about me,— I asked him what I was confined for? He said it was the order of Major Gist, and told me I must go to the Guard house, I replied I would not go to the Guard house—But wished to see Major Gist,—upon this they took me under Guard to Major Gist, I asked him what I had done? He replied I will hear you to-morrow.— I still refused going to the Guard house, He then said it is for your threats— It began to drizzle, and Washburn and his party told me I had better go into the Guard house out of the rain— I persisted in not going, and told them I was able to pay for a room, and they had no right to Confine me— After this Washburn stepped up to Gist, and said to him, what shall I do with this prisoner? Gist replied—Captain you know your orders— Washburn then came near me, and stood on the Ground— I told him I would not go to the Guard alive, and that he might run his Sword through me— Gist at this time had gone off—but soon returned, Washburn again applied to him, & told him the Deponent would not go alive to the Guard-house— On which Gist again Said to Washburn



you know your orders— Washburn again returned to me, and some Conversation ensued, and I was urged to go to the Guard house, which I refused— I was at this time about twenty Steps from Colonel Cox's quarters, and soon after the Colonel called me by my name, and said he wanted to speak with me,— I accordingly went with the Guard; who accompanied me to the door, and went into his room,— The Colonel then addressed me, What is the matter W. Wickliff? I told him Major Gist had ordered me under Guard yesterday, and again this evening— He replied I understood the reason why he ordered you under Guard Yesterday was, because you drew a knife on a man,— I answered him that I did, because the man was in liquor & threatened to strike me He replied, did you not know the laws of Smithland was particular against that— I answered him I did not know the Laws of Smithland, but I know the laws of Kentucky, were not against a mans defending himself— I told him I did not think Smithland had any right to make laws— His answer was, every man has a right to make laws of his own house, and that the houses there were his— I replied that Major Gist had no Authority to act as he had done, and he answered, the Major had Authority from the Governor of Kentucky— I said I did not believe the Governor of Kentucky had even [ever?] Authorized one man to put another under Guard, as the Major had done me— He then observed, You have also made use of threats against Major Gist, for putting you under Guard.— I asked him who had informed him? He told me that two of three men had made Oath of it.— I asked what were the Threats, he replied I had threatened him with the Civil Law, and also with the Federal Officers— I answered that I did not know that I had threatened him with the Federal Officers, but believed I had said, I would inform Colonel Hamtranck of my Treatment, He replied, "By God we are not to be threatened with the Federal Officers"— I told him I conceived I had been treated very ill, by Major Gist, for that he knew my father & family,— He answered he believed I was of a good family, But if General Góerge Washington had been there, and behaved in the same manner as I had done, he would have been put in Confinement,— He afterward said he was sorry for the Affair, and hoped I would not be guilty of such Conduct again— He then stepped out of the Cabbin, and said Captain Washburn withdraw your Guard,

and I was left at Liberty.— On the Twenty-first day of July I was attending to my private Bussiness at Smithland, which was to collect debts due me from the inhabitants of that place, and some of them were with Colonel Zachariah Cox, about four Miles below Smithland— I started down to the place where they were encamped, in the Indian Country on the South East side of the Ohio— I made my business known to those who were indebted to me, The person I most wished to see, I learnt was at Fort Massac.— In this Camp Colonel Cox had about eighty men with him, well Armed and accommodated with a Sufficient Number of Boats to transport them down the Mississippi, were some of the party informed me they were going.— It appeared by their conversation, that they intended to force a passage by Fort Massac—in Case of objections by the Commanding Officer of that Post, to their peaceable passage— They appeared to be suspicious that I would inform the Commanding Officer of Massac of their Situation and intentions— I then mentioned my intentions to go to Massac that evening Several of them invited me to stay a few houters, as they were going to Force a passage by Fort Massac down the River— I concluded it would be best for me to stay and see the Battle, for I expected there would be one, if they attempted to force their way by the Fort: and told them so at that time. I remained with them all that night—early next morning I embarked with Colonel Cox & his party, & came down as far as the Mouth of the Tennessee River, when Cox ordered a Halt, and the whole party went on Shore with their Arms,— He & the officers had a Council, & I expected about something of importance. A few Minutes afterwards Orders were given to all such as would go by land to fall in, & parade in order— After these men paraded, Colonel Cox came to me, and said, all the men on the Ground had taken an Oath, & that I must also—& he ordered a man to administer the following Oath to me— “You are not to speak of what you see passing at this time, nor at this palce, directly or indirectly—So help me God.”

Immediately after this, about thirty five in number embarked and descended the River about Six Miles, when we again landed.—In a short time after, we saw a Barge with one or two Federal Officers coming up from the Fort,— Colonel Cox instantly desired me to walk with him— We walked but a small distance back from the river before we came to the party of about fifty



Armed Men, who had marched down from the Mouth of Tennessee by land— This party of Fifty men were at this time, in a Valley, quite out of Sight from the river— Cox said to me, Stay here a few minutes and I will be back.— He then went towards the Boats— After he had been gone some time, I mentioned to Lieutenant Scott (of that party) it was growing late in the day and I would wish to leave them, and go over to Fort Massac— He said I could not go until Colonel Cox returned, as he had something particular with me— After this Cox came forward and said he had liberty to pass by the Garrison of Massac— I instantly made application to him, to Cross me over the river— He said he would not for four Thousand Dollars— I urged again,— He said he would be Damned if he would, and left me at this place, about three Miles above Fort Massac, on the Kentucky Side of the Ohio in the Indian Country— Cox then ordered his party by land to move down through the Indian Country, within about half a mile of the River— He ordered them in Case of any firing to come immediately to the river. The party then Started down the river— Cox went to the Boats and descended the river from that place— and left me there—after all had gone, I made my way down the River to where the Gally lay, called to Lieutenant Smith, and he gave leave for me to Cross the Ohio in the Gallys Boat, to the Fort, and I informed the Commanding Officer of Massac, of what had happened within my View & Knowledge.—

M RTIN H. WICKLIFF.

The above named Deponent after being duly cautioned and Sworn, subscribed, and declared the foregoing deposition to be the truth Before me at Massac on the Ninth day of August 1798.—

Charles Hyde Judge Advs P. T.

[Manuscript Copy.]

## XII.

### THOMAS BUTLER TO JOHN SEVIER.

Bull [Bell] Canton March 11th. 1799—<sup>17a</sup>

J S

I have the honor of announcing to your Excellency, the receipt of a letter of instruction, from the Hon ble. Winthrop

<sup>17a</sup> Cf. Ramsey, p. 690.



Serjt [Sargent] Governor of the Mississippi Territory, under the date of the 15th Jany. 1799:<sup>18</sup> wherein I am informed, that he has written to your Excellency, demanding that Mr Zachariah Cox, be delivered to such agent, as I may direct to receive him, in order, that he may be conducted to said Territory for trial—

— However disagreeable such duty may be, yet it is proper for me to inform your Excellency, that your directions shall be duly attended to, and a person directed to receive Mr Cox, should you so direct, of which you will please advise me—

I am Sir, with respect, your  
Humb. Servt

Thos. Butler Lt Col

His Excellency  
John Sevier  
Governor of Tennessee

[Original manuscript.]

### XIII.

#### JOHN MCNAIRY TO JOHN SEVIER.

Nashville 22nd of April 1799.

Sir.

On the 18th Instant I received your's of the 25th Ult., on the subject of Zachariah Cox's escape from the Natchez. It is unfortunate that I did not receive more early notice of the demand made by the Governor of the Mississippi Territory. Cox was bound and rebound waiting information from that Government, and would have been continued under Recognizance only that I dispaired of getting information.

The Judicial and Executive Officers of that Government are responsable for their own official Acts, I do not therefore think it is incumbent on us to enquire into the nature of the Offences with which Cox may stand charged *there*.

If your Excellency should think proper to grant the demand, and give me early notice, it may be in my power still to deliver Cox to your order. However I shall immediatly take measures

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<sup>18</sup>Miss. Ter'l Archives, I. p. 103.

for that purpose, and shall expect to hear from you the earliest Opportunity.<sup>19</sup>

I am very respectfully

Sir

Your Obedient servt

His Excellency  
John Sevier

John McNairy.

[Original Manuscript.]

#### XIV.

THOMAS SWAINE TO MESSRS. SMITH & FINLEY.<sup>20</sup>

(Torrence Papers Box 22, No. 41)

Knoxville (State of Tennessee) April 11, 1798.

.....  
We remain in this country much in the same Situation as when Chandler last wrote but are daily troubled in driving off the refractory frontier men from the land ceded to the Indians.

<sup>19</sup>Evidently Cox had been released following the testimony given in his favor on pp. 85-91. His future movements are uncertain. ——— J. F. H. Claiborne, the Mississippi historian, states that Cox was forced by Sargent to exile himself in the Spanish dominions. But in November, 1803, he petitioned Congress for damages because of his arrest five years before. Some of the Republicans in the House tried to use the petition as a means to censure Governor Sargent, but were not successful. The petition was supported by Matthew Lyon, the representative of the Kentucky district in which Smithland was situated, and this may indicate that Cox was trying to rehabilitate his establishment there. His petition, however, was rejected by a vote of 54 to 26. (Cf. *Annals* 8th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 554, 784.) In June, 1799, a Tennessee commission on which were Cox's agents, tried to interfere with the federal commission that was trying to arrange with the Indians the details of the Treaty of Jellico. One of these frankly stated that the people of Tennessee desired to drive the Indians beyond the Tennessee as a first step, and then beyond the Mississippi, where they would even follow them. (Steiner, pp. 448, 449.) A Tennessean was president when this policy was carried out. As late as 1810 there were rumors that one of Cox's grantees was attempting to dispose of lands derived from him in the bend of the Tennessee River, but his claims were disallowed. Cf. *Annals* 11th Cong., 3rd Sess., App. pp. 1288-1292.

<sup>20</sup>For Thomas Swaim cf. *Quarterly* Vol. IV, p. 113. The other officers mentioned in his letter belong to the Fourth Regiment, with the exception of Dr. Simmons. Cf. *Hammersley*, p. 49. The text of this letter was obtained too late to insert in its proper order.

This (is) a very disagreeable duty and renders the Military very unpopular in this quarter the Powells Valley have taken a dastardly method of retaliation by wounding a dragoon in the night and driving off and killing Maj Bradley's and Diven's Horses. The latter has been extremely unfortunate, for notwithstanding he broke his leg is a (trouble?) with Dr. Simmons of the corps of Dragoons. Purdy has not yet returned from his furlough but is daily expected. Suits have been instituted in this quarter against Colonel Butler, Major Paten, Capt. Preston and Bird, for removing certain characters from their lands. after much noise and trouble given, the plaintiffs have withdrawn their suits. The principal agent in this business is a certain Judge Campbell<sup>21</sup> who in all his transactions has acted a very inflammatory part and done essential disservice upon the minds of people in this country. Chandler is now here and much in the same way as ever. This place can boast of nothing worthy recording as it is the most dull disagreeable place you can have any idea of and the dearth of news is much greater here than when we were in the woods on your side of the Ohio. The party who were with Zachariah Cox are almost all gone and only one or two left to take care of a large vessel he has built to descend to the Muscles Shoals, but as that is forbidden by law he has made no attempt to proceed with her; and the season is now too far advanced. She is almost as large as the Detroit, and built much like the vessels you saw on the lakes.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Putnam, pp. 548, 549.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ramsey, p. 690.



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CINCINNATI, OHIO

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CHARLES T. GREVE    FREDERICK W. HINKLE  
MISS L. BELLE HAMLIN

ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
Historical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 15, 1913



CINCINNATI  
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# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1913

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### THE REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

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*Mr. President and Members of the Society:*

The volumes added to the library during the corporate year ending December 15th, 1913, came from several sources. The gifts from friends number 266; the purchases, credited to the Margaret Rives King fund, 42; to the Elizabeth Appleton fund 14; to the fund of the Colonial Dames Society 1; and to these must be added 186 volumes obtained by binding periodicals and other paper-covered publications in our collection, heretofore listed under the head of pamphlets. This aggregation of 509 titles increases the number of volumes in the library to 26007.

1597 pamphlets have been donated and 57 others of local nature were purchased. Of the latter a few titles are mentioned, namely:—

“Constitution and By-Laws of the Cincinnati Benefit Society, 1823”;

“Report of Deaths by Cholera, that have occurred in Cincinnati, from the 24, of September, to the 14, of November. Alphabetically arranged by an attentive Observer, 1832”;

“Report of the Committee, Appointed on the 29th of January last, to whom was referred the Census of the Inhabitants of the Territory north west of the river Ohio . . . . . 4th March, 1802. Ordered to lie on the Table”;

“Lake Age in Ohio or Some episodes during the Retreat of the North American Ice-Sheet” by E. W. Claypole, published in Edinburgh, 1887. This is a reprint from the Transactions of the Geological Society of Edinburgh. It contains four colored maps: No. 1, Lake of Ohio, showing its approximate form at

the greatest extent of the Ice; No. 2, Cuyahoga Lake, area about 55 sq. miles; No. 3, Glacial Lakelets held between the Water-shed and the Ice-front; No. 4, Lake Erie-Ontario, area about 8000 sq. miles, level 220ft. above Lake Erie.

"The Mississippi River Tragedy . . . Destruction of the *Sultana*"; This pamphlet contains a list of many of those persons—principally paroled Union prisoners—who were lost, April 22, 1865, on the ill-fated steamer, and a partial list of the survivors. "Report of a Committee of the Citizens of Cleveland, in relation to Steamboat Disasters on the Western Lakes, 1850";

"First Annual Report of the Bank Commissioners of Ohio to the 38th General Assembly, 1839";

"Catalogue of the State Library of Ohio, Dec., 1832"; [A very meager collection is shown for that date.]

Five pamphlets relating to William Henry Harrison.

We have purchased several maps of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, and charts and plans for their improvement, of dates 1835, 1839, and 1852. Also, one folio volume containing 47 maps or surveys of the Ohio river, ranging from 1837 to 1868.

From the Library of Congress the Society has received 21 volumes of the "Reprint in full of the Journals and Records of the Continental Congress" edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 1904-1912". The Reprint is not completed yet. This is an important addition to an American history collection as the earlier editions (of which we have copies) do not contain all the important material. Some other publications acquired lately are: McMaster's History of the United States, Vol. 8; Works of John Quincy Adams, Vols. 1 & 2; Bigelow's Retrospections of an Active Life, Vols. 4 & 5; Trevelyan's "George the Third and Charles Fox", the concluding part of the "American Revolution" by the same author; Livermore's Story of the Civil War, a continuation of the "Story of the Civil War" by John Codman Ropes, Part III, Books 1 & 2; Rives' United States and Mexico; Beer's Old Colonial System, 1660-1754, Vols. 1 & 2; The Republican Party, by Francis Curtis; International Courts of Arbitration, by T. Balch; Smith's Indiana Miscellany; The Americans, by Hugo Münsterberg; Burying Grounds of Sharon, Conn., Amenia and North East, N. Y.; Epitaphs of the Old Burying-Grounds of Lexington, Mass.; Histories of Buck, Warren and Franklin Counties, Pa.; Histories of Cass County, Indianapolis and Marion County, Fort Wayne, In-



diana; Adams Co., Ill.; Ritchie Co., W. Va.; Lives of General George Gordon Meade; William Henry Harrison; Robert Fulton by Dickenson; Thaddeus Stevens by Woodburn; Fleming's General Sherman as a College President; Autobiography of J. A. Early; Memoirs of John Marshall Newton; McKinley Memorial Addresses at the Tippecanoe Club, Cleveland; Jean Paul Jones Commemoration; Memorial-Nathaniel Wright Lord; Judicial Acts of the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church, pub. at Washington, Ohio, 1830, contains addresses by the Synod of the west against "Hopkinsian Socinian and other allied errors"; "The Naval Monument, containing . . . accounts of all the Battles fought between the Navies of the United States and Great Britain during the late war" by Abel Bowen, 1816; To our Civil War Regimental histories we have added "The Story of the Sherman Brigade; History of the Roster of the Fourth and Fifth Independent Battalions and 13th Regt. O. C. V., by Ashton; 86th Regt. O. V. I., by Ashburn; A summer in Maryland and Virginia or Campaigning with the 149th O. V. I., by Perkins.

Several volumes of the Cincinnati Mirror & Western Gazette of Literature and Science, 1831-36, have been acquired, also, an attractive little book, presented by the Yale University, "A Journey to Ohio in 1810 as Recorded in the Journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight", and another book of travel, secured by purchase, is "An Excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822-23 by an Englishman" [Wm. N. Blane], pub. in London. It contains a map of the United States by John Mellish, 1820, and a map of the Straights of Niagara by Darby. Blane's description of the country, the characteristics, habits, language, etc., of the American people is very interesting, and the account of Cincinnati and its residents is entertaining and graphic. His criticisms and comments seem very fair in comparison with those of many other English travellers of that period.

We are indebted to the Litchfield County [Conn.] University Club for a copy of their latest publication, "Litchfield County Choral Union, 1900-1912, founded to honor the Memory of Robbins Battell". It furnishes, to music lovers especially, interesting reading in its description of the formation, remarkable growth, scope of work and the achievements of that musical association.

Numerous incomplete sets of our collection of books have been filled in lately, such as the Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, 3 vols.; Papers of the American Historical Association, 5 vols.; Documentary Material relating to the History of Iowa, 3 vols., and a number of volumes of "Collections" issued by various Historical Societies have been added.

Many periodicals have received substantial covers, among these, is the African Repository, 21 volumes, and, as this publication is very useful to students of a certain period of American history, it is to be regretted that quite a large number still remain upon our shelves unbound, being incomplete. Covers have been given to three foreign publications of travels in this country:—"Wanderungen zwischen Hudson und Mississippi, 1851 und 1852", 2 vols., by Moris Busch; "Geschichte des Ursprungs, des Fortgangs und der Beendigung des Americanischen Kriegs" by Carl Stedman, 2 vols., 1785; and a Russian publication in 2 vols., 1810, "Dvukratnoe Puteshestvie V Ameriku Morskikh Ofitserov Khostova i Davydova . . . .", the literal translation of the title is Twofold Journey to America of the Marine Officers, Khostov and Davydov . . . . Others, too numerous for special mention, present an attractive appearance in their new attire.

Gifts of Manuscripts and others of miscellaneous character have been received and are as follows:

*Mr. C. W. Bell:*

Certificate of membership in the American Colonization Society, 1866, in the name of Mrs. Maria Overaker.

*Mr. W. K. Bixby:*

Resolution of the Ohio Legislature upon the infraction of Treaty with Spain, dated April 16, 1803; and Resolution in regard to creating a Port of Delivery at mouth of Cuyahoga river for the convenience of residents of Trumbull Co., Ohio, February 22, 1805. These two papers were sent to Thomas Jefferson by the Ohio Legislature, and were in the Thomas Jefferson Collection, purchased by Mr. Bixby. Fac-similes of manuscripts of Algernon Charles Swinburne:—An essay entitled "Mr. Whistler's Lecture on Art" and "Memorial Verses on the Death of Richard Burton".

*Mr. D. L. James:*

Account Book of G. W. Phillips, Wholesale grocer, 1842-46, which furnishes the names of various steamboats upon the Ohio river transporting merchandise at that date.

*Mr. D. Mowry:*

A number of copies of letters written by public men of Ohio and several original documents.

*Miss J. C. Neave:*

Two small copper memorial medals in closed cases, one has the bust of Henry Clay in relief on the obverse side; the other has the bust of Daniel Webster embossed, and both are further ornamented with appropriate designs and inscriptions on the reverse sides.

*Mr. C. W. Short:*

Letter of John Cunningham, Aug. 1, 1813, to John Cleves Symmes; Letter (type-written) of Benjamin Harrison, Nov. 14, 1884; Several letters of J. B. Gordon, and numerous checks & receipts.

*Mrs. W. R. Thrall:*

A Landscape in oil by James Barton, representing, it is said, the first location of Daniel Boone in Kentucky. Samuel Thompson of Zanesville, Ohio, (grandfather of the donor) was a personal friend of Boone and visited him while in this locality. In 1832 the artist painted the scene for Mr. Thompson, who presented it to his son-in-law, William Galigher, as a wedding gift. We now receive it from the daughter of Mr. Galigher.

*Mr. M. T. Watts:*

Miniature of R. M. W. Taylor, formerly of Cincinnati, now deceased;

Miniature of Mrs. R. M. W. Taylor, whose maiden name was Frances Anne Menefee, born in Louisiana. These are paintings of the parents of William Watts Taylor, lately deceased.

Large Photograph of the four daughters of Seth Low and his wife Nancy (Hardiman) Low, namely: Mrs. Henderson Taylor (Louise Low); Mrs. John Nugent (Anne Lavinia Low); Mrs. John W. Jewell (Clara Low); and the mother of Mrs. R. M. W. Taylor, (Amelia Low,) who married first John Menefee and second Patrick Thomson.

*Mr. J. Wilby:*

Pass through the military lines at Columbus during the flood of last March, issued by the officials to Joseph Phillips; and the written request of Governor Cox for said issue.



Through the courtesy of Mrs. G. K. Wheelwright we have had copied a small photograph of Mrs. Ann Harrison, wife of William Henry Harrison and daughter of John Cleves Symmes.

A manuscript document, relating to the first settlement in this locality, dated Miami Land Office, 23rd January, 1795, and signed by John C. Symmes, Register, was secured by purchase. Three names—David Leonard, Jonathan Stites and Thomas C. Wade, are given in this paper as volunteer settlers in Columbia Township. It is stated that "The above persons came on the ground with Major Stites and were returned by him at an early period as Volunteer Settlers, as were many others at the time." In the various accounts of the early settlement of Columbia Tp. examined, I have been unable to find the name, *David Leonard* mentioned as a volunteer settler, and it may be that he was one of the number of unidentified settlers referred to by several writers.

This year some action became necessary toward the lessening of the congestion in the library, arising largely from the aggregation of duplicate volumes, particularly the unwieldy duplicate volumes of newspapers. These numbered several hundred and occupied space greatly needed for other purposes. Some method had to be determined upon for their disposition, and finding that we would incur considerable expense by renting quarters outside, in some fireproof building, I undertook, with the approval of the Executive Board, their sale which was subsequently effected. Besides the space obtained thereby for our own comfort, we have the satisfaction of knowing that these 211 volumes are now serving a good purpose in furnishing material upon western history in the libraries of Harvard University and the American Antiquarian Society instead of remaining as duplicates in our own collection. In connection with the report of this sale I will mention the sale of a number of scientific and other duplicate magazines for \$59, and the disposal of other duplicate magazines, valued at \$30, for which was received an equivalent in material needed as additions to our incomplete sets.

L. BELLE HAMLIN,  
*Librarian.*

## DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

	VOL.	PAM.
Academy of the Pacific Coast.....		1
American Association for International Conciliation.....		15
American Historical Association.....	2	1
American Jewish Historical Society.....	1	
Arkansas History Commission.....		1
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Buffalo Historical Society.....	1	
Bureau of Railway Economics.....		3
Canadian Archivist.....9 maps	1	5
Chicago Historical Society.....		1
Cincinnati—		
Chamber of Commerce.....	1	
Hebrew Union College.....		1
Museum Association.....		14
Ohio Mechanics Institute.....		1
Orchestra Association.....		11
Public Works Department (per H. M. Waite).....	1	
Smoke Abatement League.....		1
University of Cincinnati.....		9
Woman's Club.....		58
Colorado College.....		3
Colorado Scientific Society.....		3
Connecticut Historical Society.....	1	2
Connecticut State Librarian.....	1	
Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati.....		1
Essex Institute.....		9
Gospel Trumpet Company.....	1	
Hamilton County New Court House Building Commission.....		1
Harvard University.....		1
Illinois State Historical Society.....	1	5
Indiana State Library.....		3
Instituto Geologico de Mexico.....	1	2
Iowa Grand Lodge.....	1	
Iowa Historic Department.....		4
Iowa State Historical Society.....		4
Kansas State Agricultural College.....		4
Kansas State Historical Society.....	1	1
Lake Mohonk Conference.....		3
Lexington (Mass.) Historical Society.....	1	
Litchfield County (Conn.) University Club.....	2	
Louisiana Historical Society.....		1
Louisville (Ky.) Public Library.....		2
Lowell (Mass.) Historical Society.....		11
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	1	

	VOL.	PAM.
Medford Historical Society.....		3
Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society.....	2	
Military Order of Loyal Legion, U. S.—		
New York.....		10
Ohio.....		51
Wisconsin.....		1
Minnesota Historical Society.....		1
Missouri State Historical Society.....		7
Newberry Library.....		1
New Hampshire Historical Society.....	1	1
New Haven Colony Historical Society.....	1	1
New Jersey Historical Society.....		1
New York Institution for Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb...		1
New York Public Library.....		14
New York Society of the Sons of the Revolution.....		1
New York State Historical Association.....	1	
New York State Library.....		1
Nova Scotia Institution of Science.....		1
Oberlin College.....		7
Ohio—		
Archaeological and Historical Society.....		3
Board of Health.....		9
Board of State Charities.....		5
Secretary of State.....	3	
State University.....	1	5
Ohio Grand Lodge.....	1	
Ohio Journal of Commerce.....	6	
Old Northwest Society.....		2
Pennsylvania, Colonial Society of.....	1	
Rhode Island Historical Society.....		1
St. Louis Mercantile Library.....		1
St. Xavier College.....		2
Texas State Historical Society.....		4
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology.....	4	2
Bureau of Education.....	2	1
Coast and Geodetic Survey.....	1	20
Geological Survey.....		2
Department of Navy.....	1	
Department of War.....		4
Interstate Commerce.....		387
Library of Congress.....	24	2
Smithsonian Institution.....	3	42
Superintendent of Documents.....	60	
University of California.....		4
University of Colorado.....		8
University of Illinois.....		4
University of Toronto.....		1



	VOL.	PAM.
Vanderbilt University.....		8
Vermont Historical Society.....		1
Washington University (St. Louis).....		2
Washington University State Historical Society.....		3
Western Reserve Historical Society.....		2
Wisconsin Historical Commission.....	2	
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	3	
Worcester (Mass.) Public Library.....		2
Yale University.....	1	3
Allaben, F.....		1
Balch, T. W.....	2	
Bell Telephone News Co..... 1 Newspaper (Flood edition)		
Bixby, W. K..... Mss. etc.	1	
Doubleday, Page & Co.....	1	
Finch, Mrs. G. N.....	28	
Fletcher, D. U.....		1
Gill, C. G.....		1
Greeno, F. L.....	1	
Heartman, C. F.....		1
Hickenlooper, S.....	1	
Hill, A.....		139
Hunt, H. T.....	1	
Keidel, G. C..... 18 newspapers		
Lewis, G. W..... 2 maps, mss., etc.		
McMorran, H.....		1
Mendenhall, Mrs. F. C..... Periodicals		49
Moffat, R. B.....	1	
Morgan, J. P. Co.....		1
National Cash Register Co.....		1
Newton, Miss E. H.....	1	
New York Times.....	1	
Nicholson, Miss G..... 1 newspaper & clippings		
Packard, J.....	1	
Rogers, W. P.....		18
Short, C. W..... Mss., maps, and misc.	3	7
Thayer, G. A.....		3
Thomas, A. A.....	1	2
Wilcox, M. A.....		2
Williams Directory Company.....	1	

## MEMBERS

Bliss, E. F.....	14	90
Chatfield, A. H..... Misc.	1	47
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H.....	1	77
Dabney, C. W.....		1
Greve, C. T.....		1
Hamlin, L. B.....	1	1
James, D. L..... Mss.	1	1
Neave, Miss J. C..... Misc.		
Taylor, W. W.....	63	319
Thomson, P. G.....		1
Winslow, J. F.....		3

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

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During the year, 1913, no unusual event has occurred in the history of the Society. Our record for the year is fully shown in the Reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian.

We have met with a serious loss by death of several members who had shown in many ways their interest in our work. We shall miss them. Their names are:—William C. Compton, corporate member since 1885; William Watts Taylor, corporate member since 1871; John Flack Winslow, corporate member since 1898, and a member of the Executive Board for many years; Charles H. Rosenthal, corporate member since 1910; Ethan Osborn Hurd, life member since 1886; Reuben Gold Thwaites, corresponding member, and Reuben T. Durrett, honorary member.

Quarterlies for the year have appeared as follows:—

Vol. VIII, No. 1, Jan-March, on the "Relation of Southern Ohio to the South during the Decade preceding the Civil War", by David Carl Schilling, M. A. The Appendices contain five Election Maps;

Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 & 3, April-Sept., published under one cover, contains "Documents Relating to Zachariah Cox", edited by Isaac Joslyn Cox, Associate Professor of History, University of Cincinnati, assisted by Reginald C. McGrane, Assistant in History, University of Wisconsin. The main document is a reprint of a pamphlet in the library of the Society, published by Zachariah Cox, at Nashville, 1799; accompanying this are reprints of several documents in the Tennessee Department of Archives and History, copies of which were sent to us for use in this publication, by the Assistant Director, Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Jr., upon the request of Professor St. George L. Souissat. We are indebted to both for their courtesy.

Vol. VIII, No. 4, consists of the Annual Report of the Society.

December 15, 1913.

JOSEPH WILBY,  
*President.*

## Memorial

BY JOSEPH WILBY

*Read at the Annual Meeting, December 15, 1913.*

JOHN FLACK WINSLOW died at his residence, No. 642 Oak Street, Friday, April 4th, 1913. He was born in Cincinnati May 24th, 1855.

He became a corporate Member of this Society in 1898. At the annual meeting in 1907 he accepted the office of Recording Secretary and filled it until he died. His minutes are models of completeness and perspicuous brevity—thorough and in good taste—admirable in all ways,—as was the man who wrote them. The Society was fortunate when it came within the circle of Mr. Winslow's interest.

To have leisure is becoming less rare; yet men of ability, willing to use their leisure in such causes as ours, are few in Cincinnati.

His care for the Historical Society was one phase of his fine citizenship. He knew the worth of our work; that fixed his interest. He knew our needs; that was to him sufficient call for constant service. He was elected a Curator in 1899, and thereafter, as long as he lived, gave liberally of his time and of his wise counsel to our affairs. He will be remembered long and gratefully wherever our Society is known.

He had exceptional literary judgment; he not only read much but got understanding with knowledge. His personality was charming; modest almost to a fault. He had the rare talent of good conversation; his fine breeding and gentle tact gave opinion without dogmatizing and difference of view without offense.

This appreciation of John Flack Winslow as friend and useful citizen as well as officer of this Society is put upon our records.



# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

December 15, 1913.

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1913.

Schedule "A."

## STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

At November 30, 1913.

### ASSETS.

Cash in Bank .....	\$1,439 02
Librarian's Petty Fund .....	44 50
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.—Interest Account ..	15 15
Investments .....	37,654 91
Call Loans (Secured by Collateral) .....	31,300 00
Accrued Interest on Call Loans .....	286 92
Total Assets .....	<u>\$70,740 50</u>

### LIABILITIES.

FUND	ACCOUNT	EXHIBIT
General .....	Income .....	2, \$1,021 62
Building .....	Principal .....	3, 17,700 00
Building .....	Income .....	3, 659 53
Endowment .....	Income .....	4, 12,320 00
Life Membership .....	Investment .....	5, 5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication .....	Investment .....	6, 1,227 17
Julius Dexter Publication .....	Income .....	6, 56 73
E. H. Appleton Memorial .....	Investment .....	7, 4,334 55
E. H. Appleton Memorial .....	Income .....	7, 235 24
Halsted Neave .....	Investment .....	8, 5,982 00
Halsted Neave .....	Income .....	8, 375 03
Erasmus Gest .....	Investment .....	9, 5,449 99
Erasmus Gest .....	Income .....	9, 26 28
Margaret Rives King .....	Investment .....	10, 9,214 38
Margaret Rives King .....	Income .....	10, 122 56
A. J. Howe .....	Investment .....	11, 5,316 88
A. J. Howe .....	Income .....	11, 316 95
Colonial Dames .....	Investment .....	12, 200 00
Colonial Dames .....	Income .....	12, 24 65
Binding .....	Principal .....	13, 200 00
Binding .....	Investment .....	13, 892 81
Binding .....	Income .....	13, 27 00
Total Liabilities .....		<u>\$70,740 50</u>

## Schedule "B."

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended November 30, 1913.

DUES:		RECEIPTS	
1912.....		\$10 00	
1913.....		500 00	
			\$510 00
Anonymous.....		\$2 00	
Sale of Newspapers.....		541 05	
Sale of Periodicals.....		59 00	
			602 05
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:			
Life Membership Fund.....		\$274 50	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....		210 65	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....		52 70	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....		377 50	
Binding Fund.....		39 60	
Colonial Dames Fund.....		12 00	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....		257 49	
Halsted Neave Fund.....		279 30	
A. J. Howe Fund.....		236 26	
			1,740 00
Rent of Property at 107 West Eighth St. to			
Jan. 22, 1913.....		\$248 18	
Interest on Call Loans to October 1, 1913...		978 86	
			1,227 04
Call Loans Repaid.....			4,500 00
Sale of Property at 107 West Eighth St. ....			29,000 00
Total Receipts.....			\$37,579 09

## DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Librarian & Janitor.....	\$1,050 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....	13 90	
Printing.....	274 71	
Stationery.....	32 00	
Postage.....	28 10	
Hauling.....	28 05	
Paper for Quarterly.....	35 79	
Rent Safety Deposit Box.....	7 00	
Insurance.....	18 00	
Binding.....	55 30	
Letters and Magazines.....	78 95	
Subscriptions and Dues.....	10 00	
Auditing Treasurer's Books.....	25 00	
Miscellaneous.....	89 55	
		\$1,746 35

E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund—Books Purchased.....	\$46 90	
Margaret Rives King Fund—Books Purchased.....	128 74	
Colonial Dames Fund—Books Purchased...	1 10	
	<hr/>	176 74
Call Loans.....		35,800 00
		<hr/>
Total Disbursements.....		37,723 09
		<hr/>
Excess Disbursements over Receipts...		\$144 00
Cash on Hand December 1, 1912.....		1,627 52
		<hr/>
		\$1,483 52
Less Cash in Librarian's Hands Nov. 30, 1913		44 50
		<hr/>
CASH IN BANK, NOVEMBER 30, 1913...		<u>\$1,439 02</u>

Exhibit "1."

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

As at November 30, 1913.

		Rate	Par Value	Book Value
145 Shares of Cincinnati Street Ry....	Stock,	6 %	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
7 C. H. & D. Ry.....	Bonds,	4½ %	7,000 00	7,395 00
8 C. & O. Ry.....	"	4½ %	8,000 00	8,285 00
2 C. L. & N. Ry.....	"	4 %	2,000 00	1,975 00
2 N. & W. Ry.....	"	4 %	2,000 00	1,755 00
1 Chattanooga Station Co.....	"	4 %	1,000 00	930 00
1 Kineon Coal Co.....	"	5 %	1,000 00	1,000 00
2 Kentucky Central Ry.....	"	4 %	2,000 00	1,950 00
1 Cin'ti, Newport & Cov. St. Ry....	"	5 %	1,000 00	1,045 00
2 Western Pacific Ry.....	"	5 %	2,000 00	1,870 00
1 American Book Co.....	"	6 %	1,000 00	1,115 00
2 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line.	"	4½ %	2,000 00	1,835 00
			<hr/>	
Total Stocks and Bonds.....			\$36,250 00	\$37,603 88
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe				
Deposit Co.....		3 %		51 03
				<hr/>
Total Funds Invested.....				<u>\$37,654 91</u>

Exhibit "1-a."

STATEMENT OF INVESTED FUNDS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30, 1913.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:			
83 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. 6% Stock.....		\$4,425 75	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½ %			
Bonds.....		314 38	
4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....		289 00	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.		8 00	
		<hr/>	\$5,037 13



# JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$834 00	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	224 25	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.	16 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	152 92	1,227 17

# E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 C. H. & D. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$2,882 50	
13 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	677 50	
2 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	144 50	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4% Bonds.	314 37	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	97 50	
Part interest in St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	191 15	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.	27 03	4,334 55

# HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$1,000 00	
Kineon Coal Co. 5% Bonds.....	1,000 00	
2 N. & W. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,755 00	
Part interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds.	487 50	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	165 75	
1 American Book Co. 6% Bond.....	1,115 00	
Part interest in St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line Ry. 4½% Bond.....	458 75	5,982 00

# MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$4,512 50	
7 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	481 25	
Part interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.	1,551 25	
Part interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bond.	1,462 50	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	390 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
5 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	358 13	9,214 38

# COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 shares Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	200 00
--------------------------------------------------	--------

# BINDING FUND:

10 shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$680 63	
Part interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	97 50	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	114 68	892 81

# ERASMUS GEST FUND:

1 C. & O. Ry. 4½% \$1,000.00 Bond.....	\$1,017 50	
1 Chattanooga Station \$1,000.00 4% Bond.....	930 00	
1 Cincinnati, Newport & Cov. St. Ry. 5% Bond..	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Ry. \$1,000.00 4% Bonds.....	1,870 00	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bonds.....	229 37	
5 shares Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	358 12	5,449 99

A. J. HOWE FUND:

5 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$5,087 50	
Part interest in 2 St. Paul and Kansas City Short Line Bonds.....	229 38	5,316 88
		<hr/>
TOTAL.....		<u>\$37,654 91</u>

Exhibit "2."

GENERAL FUND

November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Dues, 1912.....	\$10 00	
" 1913.....	510 00	
Anonymous.....	2 00	
Sale of Newspapers.....	541 05	
Sale of Periodicals.....	59 00	
Repayment of Loan of Nov. 29, 1905, by Appleton Income Account.....	249 84	
Transfer from Endowment Fund, being interest on this fund loaned to Building Fund.....	615 00	
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account.....	274 83	
		<hr/>
TOTAL INCOME.....	\$2,261 72	
Transfer of 10 shares of Cincinnati St. Ry. stock to E. H. Appleton Memorial and Margaret Rives King funds.....	716 25	\$2,977 97
		<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries of Librarian and Janitor.....	\$1,050 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....	13 90	
Printing.....	274 71	
Stationery.....	32 00	
Postage.....	28 10	
Hauling.....	28 05	
Paper for Quarterly.....	35 79	
Rent of Safety Deposit Box.....	7 00	
Insurance.....	18 00	
Binding.....	55 30	
Letters and Magazines.....	78 95	
Subscriptions and Dues.....	10 00	
Auditing Treasurer's Books.....	25 00	
Dues of Librarian.....	10 00	
Miscellaneous.....	89 55	
		<hr/>
TOTAL EXPENSES.....	\$1,756 35	
Transfer to Binding Fund Principal Account.....	200 00	
		<hr/>
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.....		1,956 35
		<hr/>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....		<u>\$1,021 62</u>

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$716 25
10 shares of Cincinnati Street Ry. Stock transferred to E. H. Appleton Memorial and Margaret Rives King Funds.....	<u>\$716 25</u>

Exhibit "3."

## BUILDING FUND

November 30, 1913.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Rent to January 22, 1913.....	\$248 18
Interest on secured Call Loans to Oct. 1, 1913....	978 86
Accrued Interest on Call Loans.....	286 92
	<u>\$1,513 96</u>

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Interest on Endowment Fund.....	\$615 00
Transfer to Building Fund Principal Account....	239 43
	<u>854 43</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$659 53</u>
----------------------------------------	-----------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.....	\$17,460 57
Transferred from Building Fund Income Account....	239 43
	<u>\$17,700 00</u>

Exhibit "4."

## ENDOWMENT FUND

November 30, 1913.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Interest on Loans to Building Fund, transferred to General Fund.....	<u>\$615 00</u>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$12,320 00
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$12,320 00</u>



Exhibit "5."

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Ry.—Dividends.....	\$261 00	
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	13 50	
Interest on Savings Account.....	33	
		<u>\$274 83</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund.....	\$274 83
----------------------------------	----------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$5,037 13</u>

Exhibit "6."

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$3 38
----------------------------------------	--------

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Ry.—Dividends.....	\$36 00	
St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line—Bond Interest.....	7 50	
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	9 20	
Interest on Savings Deposit Account.....	65	
		<u>53 35</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$56 73</u>
----------------------------------------	----------------

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	<u>\$1,227 17</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$1,227 17</u>

Exhibit "7."

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND  
November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$320 36
----------------------------------------	----------

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Ry.—Dividends.....	\$48 75	
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	135 00	
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	13 50	
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 00	
St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line—Bond Interest.....	9 40	
Interest on Savings Account.....	97	
Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. Street Ry. Stock to Gest Fund.....	358 12	
		569 74
		\$890 10

DISBURSEMENTS:

Repayment of Loan Nov. 29, 1905, to General Fund.....	\$249 84	
Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. Street Ry. Stock from General Fund.....	358 12	
Books Purchased.....	46 90	
		654 86
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....		\$235 24

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$4,334 55
Transfer of 5 shares of Cinti. Street Ry. Stock from General Fund Investment Account.....	358 12
	\$4,692 67
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. Street Ry. Stock to Gest Fund.....	358 12
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	\$4,334 55

Exhibit "8."

HALSTED NEAVE FUND

November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$95 73

RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$46 80
Ky. Cent. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	20 00
N. & W. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	80 00
Kineon Coal Co.—Bond Interest.....	50 00
St. P. & K. C. Sht. Line—Bond Interest.....	22 50
American Book Co.—Bond Interest.....	60 00
	<u>279 30</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$375 03

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$5,982 00

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,982 00

Exhibit "9."

ERASMUS GEST FUND

November 30, 1913.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$126 91

RECEIPTS:

Western Pacific Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$100 00
Cinti., Newport & Cov. St. Ry.—Bond Interest..	50 00
Chattanooga Station—Bond Interest.....	40 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	45 00
St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line—Bond Interest.	11 24
Cinti. St. Ry. Dividends.....	11 25
	<u>257 49</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. St. Ry. Stock from Appleton Fund.....	358 12
----------------------------------------------------------------------	--------

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$26 28

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$5,091 87

Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. St. Ry. Stock from E. H. Appleton Memorial Investment Account.....	358 12
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,449 99



## Exhibit "10."

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

November 30, 1913.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$231 93

## RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$36 00	
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	180 00	
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	63 00	
Kent. Cent. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	60 00	
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	16 00	
St. Paul & Kan. City Sht. Line—Bond Interest..	22 50	
		<u>377 50</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased.....	\$128 74	\$609 43
Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. Street Ry. Stock from General Fund Income Account.....	358 13	
		<u>486 87</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$122 56

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$8,856 25

Transfer of 5 shares Cinti. Street Ry. Stock from Gen- eral Fund Investment Account.....	358 13
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$9,214 38

## Exhibit "11."

## A. J. HOWE FUND

November 30, 1913.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1912..... \$80 69

## RECEIPTS:

C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$11 26	
St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line—Bond Interest..	225 00	
		<u>236 26</u>

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$316 95

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912..... \$5,316 88

CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,316 88

Exhibit "12."

**COLONIAL DAMES FUND**  
November 30, 1913.

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INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$13 75
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati St. Ry.—Dividends.....	12 00
	<u>\$25 75</u>
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Books Purchased.....	1 10
	<u>CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....</u>
	<u>\$24 65</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$200 00
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$200 00</u>

Exhibit "13."

**BINDING FUND**  
November 30, 1913.

---

INCOME ACCOUNT

Debit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$12 60
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati Street Ry.—Dividends.....	\$30 00
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 00
St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line—Bond Interest.....	5 60
	<u>39 60</u>
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$27 00</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance, November 30, 1912.....	\$892 81
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$892 81</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Transfer from General Fund—Sale of Periodicals.....	\$200 00
CREDIT BALANCE, NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$200 00</u>

## REPORT OF AUDITOR

---

December 1, 1913.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

*Sirs:*

We have audited the books and accounts of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, for the year ended November 30, 1913.

As a part of this report, we submit the following Schedules, which are accompanied by Exhibits, showing in detail the various items contained therein.

*Schedule "A"*—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30, 1913.

*Schedule "B"*—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30, 1913.

Receipts shown to have been received, have been properly accounted for and disbursements have been made in accordance with authorized vouchers on file. Cash on deposit and on hand at November 30, 1913, has been verified.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been examined and are in agreement with the account as shown by Exhibit 1.

We hereby certify that the above Schedules correctly show the operation for the year ended November 30, 1913, and the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1913.

GEO. R. LAMB,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*



## CORPORATE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Larz W.

Anderson, William H.

Anderson, Mrs. William P.

Ault, L. A.

Balke, Rudolph F.

Brunswick, B. H.

Caldwell, Charles E.

Callahan, John R.

Carew, Joseph T.

Cist, Charles M.

Dabney, Charles W.

Dandridge, Miss Mary E.

Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman

Draper, Walter A.

Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.

Foley, B. W.

Foster, Miss Anna H.

Foster, William Lytle

Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick

Freiburg, Maurice J.

Gano, Mrs. John A.

Goepper, Edward

Greve, Charles Theodore

Hamlin, Miss L. Belle

Harrison, William H.

Hinkle, Frederick W.

Hollister, Howard C.

Holmes, John R.

~~Ingalls, M. E.~~ *dec*

James, Davis L.

Keyes, Miss Mary E.

Kittredge, Edmund W.

Levy, Harry M.

Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas

~~Miller, Griffin T.~~ *dec*

Nippert, Alfred K.

Outcalt, Miller

Patterson, Jefferson

Patterson, John H.

Patterson, Robert

Pendleton, Elliott H.

Procter, William Cooper

Procter, Mrs. William Cooper

Schmidlapp, J. G.

Shillito, Stewart

Storer, Bellamy

Strobridge, Nelson W.

Taft, Charles P.

Voorheis, Albert B.

Whitcomb, Merrick

Wilson, Obed J.

Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.

Winslow, Mrs. John F.

Wolf, James J.

Worthington, Edward

Worthington, William

## LIFE MEMBERS

---

*Dec 1* — Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.

Bliss, Eugene F.

Bullock, James W.

Chatfield, Albert H.

Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.

Fleischmann, Julius

Fletcher, Miss Clara B.

Gest, Joseph H.

Jones, Frank J.

Jones, Mrs. Frank J.

Laws, Miss Annie

Livingood, Charles J.

Neave, Miss Alice

Neave, Miss Jane C.

Procter, Harley T.

Storer, Mrs. Bellamy

Thomson, Peter G.

Vail, Henry H.

Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis

Wilby, Joseph

Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

---

Adams, Charles Francis

Cox, Isaac J.

Duro, Cesario F.

Foulke, William Dudley

Galbreath, Charles P.

Green, Samuel A.

Hayes, E. G.

Heath, William McK.

Hoyt, Albert H.

Thayer, William R.

Tyson, Phillip T.

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## HONORARY MEMBERS

---

Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.

Hulbert, Archer B.

Taft, William H.

Venable, William H.

---

## DIED

William C. Compton, August 7, 1912.

Ethan Osborn Hurd, March 24, 1913.

John Flack Winslow, April 5, 1913.

Reuben T. Durrett, September 16, 1913.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, October 22, 1913.

William Watts Taylor, November 12, 1913.

Charles H. Rosenthal, November 20, 1913.





Quarterly Publication of the His-  
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Vol. IX, 1914, Nos. 1 & 2  
JANUARY AND APRIL

Burr-Blennerhassett Documents

*Edited by*

LESLEY HENSHAW, M. A.

Assistant in History, University  
of Cincinnati

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

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  - (c) WILLIAM CORRY.
  - (d) JACOB BURNET.
  - (e) ELIAS GLOVER.

} JANUARY 16, 1808.

## FOREWORD.

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The documents published herewith were prepared for The Blennerhassett Trial in Ohio which was set for the first Monday in January 1808. After the fiasco at Richmond, the prosecution determined to transfer the process to Ohio where the commission of an overt act might be proved, as attested by the seizure of Burr's boats in the Muskingum. Both Blennerhassett and Burr were very careful to stay away from this State, so their cases never came to court. There is nothing remarkably new added by them to the mass of testimony already in print but there are some marked differences which justify publication, aside from the fact that these are original material. The depositions are grouped under two headings; first, *Testimony from the Federal Court Records for the Southern District of Ohio*, and second, *Testimony from the Gano Papers* and have been arranged with reference to the chronological development of the movement known as the "Burr Conspiracy."

The federal court documents, access to which was granted through the courtesy of Judge Howard C. Hollister, were transmitted from Richmond, where the Burr trial had been held, to Ohio and in separating the testimony already published from that unpublished, the editor was impressed with the possibility that these documents now printed, might be the original testimony prepared for the historic Burr trial and not copies. It seemed hardly probable that in the various researches in the Virginia Federal court records that these depositions should have escaped publication. At this opportune moment, the book "The Trial of Aaron Burr," just off the press, by Joseph Brady, clerk of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, came to the notice of the editor. In this, are several photographs of documents from the Burr trial and the handwriting there pictured was recognized as identical with that on some of the documents under examination. The editor wrote to Mr. Brady and received the following reply;—"There are no papers on file in my office on the Burr case as referred to by



you." Thus it may be asserted safely that the documents numbered I to X form part of the original testimony prepared for the Burr trial at Richmond, transmitted to Ohio for use in the Blennerhassett trial and never returned. In corroboration may be cited the endorsement of "J. Marshall, Chief Justice of the U. S." at the end of document III and the endorsement of "G. W. Hay, Att'y for the U. S." at the end of document VII.

The testimony numbered XI to XXI is from Volume III, Pages 35 to 51 of the Gano Papers. These papers are a manuscript collection presented to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio by Mrs. Laura Vallette Gano (Mrs. John Armstrong Gano) and are chiefly composed of notes and letters which had been in the possession of John Stites Gano during his life time. See page 63, note 149. They were carefully and systematically arranged in three volumes by Mr. Eugene F. Bliss during the year 1901. In sending this work, such as it is, to the press, I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Dr. I. J. Cox, Professor of American History of the University of Cincinnati, for his interested criticisms and helpful suggestions.

L. H.

*Fac-simile* of the Burr Cipher Letter of July Twenty-ninth (1806.)

*Fac-simile* of Key to the Numbers and Hieroglyphics devised by Captain Campbell Smith 1794, '95 or '96, and to the "Arbitrary Alphabet Cipher" formed by Burr and Wilkinson, 1799 or 1800.

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See:

Safford "Blennerhassett Papers," Pages 167-169, and Appendix I, Pages 657-660.

Clark "Proofs of Corruption of General Wilkinson," Note 81, p. 160.

American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I, p. 472.





I.

DEPOSITION OF BENJAMIN STODDERT,  
OCTOBER 9, 1807.

District of Columbia

Washington County, October 9th-1807 Personally appeared before me the subscriber one of the Justices of the Peace for the County aforesaid Benjamin Stoddert<sup>1</sup> of said County & district & made Oath on the holy Evangel of Alm[ighty] God that his acquaintance with Aaron Burr, late Vice President of the United States, commenced soon after he was declared Vice President—that he had never before seen him. That their acquaintance never grew into that kind of confidential intercourse, likely to induce Col. Burr to impart to this Deponent any project of his, which the world might not know. He never spoke to this Deponent of any event of his past, nor of any view for his future life. This Deponent does not recollect that he [ever?] mentioned New Orleans, or Mexico in his presen[ce and] is well convinced that he never gave the slightest [inti]mation in his hearing of an intention to promote [a] separation of the Eastern & Western States, or an invasion of Mexico, or any of the Spanish settlements, or the Dominions of any foreign power. In conversation the Deponent generally found Col. Burr more reserved on the subject of Public men & measures than any other Public man he had ever known. He never but once departed from his usual caution with this Deponent & that was in the spring 1806 a very few days before the rising of Congress (at most not more than ten days) at his lodgings in the City of Washington where the Deponent called he thinks at his request. No importance is to be attached to the circumstance of his inviting the Deponent to call which he believes arose only from his want of society during the hours Congress were in Session. He was not now Vice President. The Deponent found Col. Burr alone. This was at a time when there was much agitation out of doors in consequence of late transactions in Congress The appropriation

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Stoddert of Maryland—the first Secretary of the Navy. See Steiner "Life and Papers of James McHenry," p. 303.

of 2,000,000 Dollars for foreign intercourse,<sup>2</sup> & circumstances connected with its passage, & promulgation, produced great dissatisfaction. Many considered it little better than tribute in disguise to Bonaparte. Unjust as this view of the subject might be, it certainly was the view of this Deponent at the time [of] this meeting with Col. Burr. The Deponent had always been in the practice of speaking his mind freely as he thought of Public men & measures, & on this occasion spoke to Col. Burr, as he did to others, with strong indignation of this measure & circumstances connected with it & without being certain of the fact, he thinks it at least probable that Col. Burr was in some degree influenced by his strictures, to comment more freely than the Deponent had ever before heard him on public men & public affairs. The Deponent spoke of acts calculated as he conceived to humiliate the Country & to endanger its Peace. Col. Burr spoke of the weakness of the Government itself, produced he [observed] by the whole course of the present administration & he asserted strongly that such was the imbeci[lity] of those who held the reins, that with 500 men [he] could put himself at the head of it- or that he would not require more than 500 men to put himself at the head of it, & this without bloodshed, or the appear[ance] of a revolution. The Deponent enquired in terms [ex]pressive of some surprise, how could he effect or how could he manage that? He replied by inviting the President to take himself off to Monticello & [by] operating (the Deponent thinks operating was the expression) on Congress to pass such acts as would p[ut] the Government in his hands. The Deponent [re]marked the attachment of the people of the [West?] to their Government & to free Government, & ob[served] whenever the Government was in danger all p[ar]ties would unite in its defence, however some might dislike the administration. He replied, the Deponent was mistaken. He, Col. Burr had travelled much about the country- that the men of energy property & talents had less influence in the Public affairs of this than the same de-

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<sup>2</sup> "An act making provision for defraying any extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse between United States and foreign nations" approved February 13, 1806. The money was intended for purchase of Spanish territory east of the Mississippi. Intense opposition was aroused against Jefferson on account of it and John Randolph and the New England Federalists thought Jefferson had become the creature of Napoleon. See Adams "History of the United States," Volume III, pp. 138-9; 147; 170.

scription of men had in the Public affairs of any other country & were every where disgusted & would not be displeased with, but would be in favor of such a change, as they would see their influence would be increased, & the mob could do nothing for want of leaders. The Deponent does not recollect what was his reply, nor that any[th]ing further passed on this subject. The conversa[tion] passed rather rapidly, & consumed but little time—on his part it was without premeditation, nor has he the least reason to suspect that it was either premeditated, or meant to be confidential on the part of Col. Burr. The Deponent never afterwards saw him untill he met him at Richmond before the Court. [O]ne of the Ideas that struck the Deponent after leaving Col. Burr was that recent disappointments had produced uncommon irritation in him against those in power. Rumour had said about this time he wanted to be [mi]nister to England & that he would accept the office of [Attor]ney General & had been disappointed in both. The Deponent never heard from Col<sup>o</sup> Burr the slightest hint that either of these, or that any other office in the power of the President would be desirable to him. The Deponent has but little acquaintance with Gen<sup>l</sup> Eaton<sup>3</sup> he saw him several times in Washington in the winter & spring before the last & had been in his company before, but never saw him in company with Col. Burr. The Deponent has made this affidavit without either of the parties attending & has employed all the attention & labour of which he is capable to bring back to his recollection every circumstance & occurrence to which he was ever privy that could have the least bearing on the prosecution against Aaron Burr both for & against the accused & has herein declared his whole knowledge.

Ben Stoddert

Sworn before

Thos Corcoran

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<sup>3</sup>William Eaton of Massachusetts, a general adventurer and Representative of the United States to the Barbary states. He had had an unsavory connection with the Yazoo land claims and was in Washington at this time, pressing some doubtful war claims on the United States which were refused. In March 1806, Eaton called on Jefferson and urged him to remove Burr from the country as a dangerous man, suggesting the diplomatic post at London or Madrid as a safe place of exile. In Jefferson's *Anas* of April 15, he mentions that Burr applied to him for an appointment. See McCaleb "The Aaron Burr Conspiracy," p. 62.



## II.

### STATEMENTS OF GIDEON GRANGER,<sup>4</sup> OCTOBER 9, 1806.

Springfield, Tuesday Evening, Oct. 16th- 1806.

In the course of conversation this evening with Wm Ely<sup>5</sup> Esqr Member of Congress- he asked me what I thought of the plans imputed to Col. Burr of raising the Standard of Separation of the Western States from the Union. I replied that I did not believe that Burr had formed any such plans, that he could not be mad enough to do it, and if he had there was nothing to be feared- the Western People were too firmly attached to the Union both by principle and Interest to allow of any fear on the subject.<sup>6</sup>

Of this he did not appear to be equally certain. He then asked me if I never had heard what Col. Burr was about at Washington last Winter- I replied that I had not- he proceeded and said that a friend and acquaintance of his had been frequently applied to by Col. Burr on the Subject to whom Col. Burr had offered a Commission in the Army to be formed, and that Col. Burr felt confident of all the western People, except those of Ohio. I desired him to inform me who that friend was. he replied Genl Eaton,<sup>7</sup> and proceeded to state that Eaton informed him in the room in which we were seated that Col. Burr had often addressed him on the Subject and invited him to join in the adventure and offered him a command in the Army to be raised- that he (Eaton) had asked Burr what command he (Eaton) should have in the Army and Burr said the Second that he then asked who was to have the Chief command, to which Burr replied Genl Wilkinson- that he Eaton then asked Burr whether he was acquainted with Wilkinson and Burr replied in the affirmative to which he answered he knew Wilkinson very well and knew he would not act as Lieutenant to any man- Yes says Burr he will act as Lieutenant to me- That Eaton further

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<sup>4</sup>Gideon Granger of Massachusetts, Post Master General of the United States 1801-1814.

<sup>5</sup>William Ely, Representative from Massachusetts, at this time.

<sup>6</sup>See McCaleb, pp. 4 and 5.

<sup>7</sup>See Testimony of William Eaton, American State Papers Miscellaneous, Volume I pp. 493; 537; 604.

said he asked Burr whether Miranda's Expedition<sup>8</sup> had any connection with the one he had projected to which Burr replied that it had not- But says Eaton suppose he, (Miranda) should be successful and turn his arms towards the western possess[io]ns of the United States,<sup>9</sup> he would be in your way- what then must be done with him-- hang him says Burr.<sup>10</sup>

That Eaton further declared Burr pressed him so often and so hard on this business that It became troublesome to him and to get rid of him he took occasion at some dining party to give such a toast as prevented any further application from Burr to him.

I then asked Mr. Ely whether Gen<sup>l</sup> Eaton had communicated a knowledge of these Conversations to the President- to which Ely replied that Eaton informed him that soon after these Interviews with Col. Burr he waited on the President, and opened a conversation with him about the Troubles in Louisiana and with the Spaniards in which he remarked that he feared there was some danger fr[o]m the Western Country of a separation and that he feared Col. Burr was a dangerous Man and hinted something of the policy of giving Burr a foreign Embassy to alleviate his feelings and to remove him fr[m] this Country- expressing an opinion that a Sense of Honor, duty and Gratitude would insure a faithful line of Conduct on the part of Col. Burr, and that the Presid[en]t cut the conversation short by saying there was no danger to be apprehended from the Western Country.<sup>11</sup> I then remarked that In the Situation in which I stood it was proper for me to be explicit, and that I conceived it to be my duty and I should communicate this conversation to the President. next after this a desultory conversation pass'd in which Newspaper reports of facts were bro't in corroboratory of this proff of a project for a Separation- after this to avoid being mistaken I put a series of questions to Mr. Ely on all the important points above stated and received such answers as convinced me I had not mistaken him- after which I asked him when his first conversation on this Subject with Gen<sup>l</sup> Eaton

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<sup>8</sup> See Adams III, 189-91.

<sup>9</sup> Westerners were immensely interested, McCaleb 115. The Spaniards in West Florida feared that Miranda might turn his expedition against them.

<sup>10</sup> Burr's attitude towards Miranda Expedition—see McCaleb pp. 56 and 58; see also Adams III 226.

<sup>11</sup> See note 6.

took place; he sd about Six Weeks past I then askd who was present at the time of this Conversation, he said several persons—who in particular? he answered Col. (Jos) Williams-<sup>12</sup> he then proceeded to state that Eaton informed him that Mr. Danielson a son of Mrs. Eaton had lately received a Letter from Marietta in which he was informd that Col. Burr had some short time before been there endeavouring to procure fifteen boats with which to descend the river, and had contracted for the building of ten- and that he had offered commissions to a number of young men there to induce them to join him.- At this moment Jams Byers Jr. Esq entered the room and the conversation ended, during the whole of which Mr. Matthew Thompson of Enfield, Connecticut<sup>13</sup> was present- and as soon as company retired I committed this to Writing. Gid<sup>n</sup> Granger

Springfield, Wednesday Morning Oct. 15, 1806 I Matthew Thompson certify that I was present last Evening in Company with Wm Ely & Gid<sup>n</sup> Granger during a Conversation between them of the Subject of a plan to Separate the Western States from the Union, and that the foregoing Statement Subscribed by G Granger is a correct and just narrative of the Conversation. Matthew Thompson

The foregoing statement, with exception of some immaterial errors, is the truth of facts. William Eaton  
Thursday 16. Oct. 1806.

Suffield, Thursday Morning October 16th 1806

General Eaton called on me at my house and having examined the foregoing confirmed the Same as will be seen by his Signature- He then informed me as follows, that the Letter to Timothy Danielson was from Morris Belknap<sup>14</sup> an Atty at Marietta who was educated at Brimfield and who is now probably at the Natches, dated sometime in Sept. last at Marietta- The substance of the Letter was that Col. Burr in the month of

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<sup>12</sup> Possibly Colonel Jonathan Williams—Heitman "Historical Register of the United States Army," Volume I, p. 1041.

<sup>13</sup> Mathew Thompson is referred to in Trumbull "Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut," Volume II, p. 159.

<sup>14</sup> See Testimony of Maurice Belknap in the Burr Trial—American State Papers—Miscell. I 509.



August passed through Marietta and by his Agent contracted for fifteen River Boats- that in that Neighbourhood he had offered commissions for a private expedition to Sevrall Young-Gentlemen and that Burr's conduct had excited much Speculation generally and considerable alarm among the friends of the Administration. General Eaton further stated that when he waited upon the President it was with a design to have gone into a detail representation of the several facts above stated; but the answer he received to the Idea of giving Burr employment in a foreign Country<sup>15</sup> induced him to believe the President considered him as acting with a design to aid Col. Burr and therefore kept Silence. But to have it in his power to show the correctness of his conduct as well as to prevent any inquiry which might otherwise result from Burrs operations, he immediately communicated all the Information he possessed to Two members of Congress and One Senator: and he further remarked that he should be in Washington in six weeks and would communicate such other information as he might possess.

Correct statement

Gideon Granger

William Eaton

### III.

#### DEPOSITION OF EDWARD W. TUPPER, SEPTEMBER 8, 1807.

The United States	}	The Deposition of Edward W. Tupper, <sup>16</sup> taken by consent. . .
vs.		
Aaron Burr		

Near the close of the month of October, in the year 1805, Col[onel] Aaron Burr arrived at Marietta, on his way from N[ew] Orleans,- or Louisiana to Washington. Soon after his arrival Return Jona[than] Meigs Jun<sup>r</sup>,<sup>17</sup> one of the judges of upper

<sup>15</sup> See note 3.

<sup>16</sup> Edward W. Tupper—owner of a general merchandise store and a ship yard at Marietta; Brigadier General of the Militia in the War of 1812; member of the House of Representatives of Ohio from Gallia County 1813-14.

<sup>17</sup> Return Jonathan Meigs Jr.

1805—territorial judge of Upper Louisiana (now Missouri).

1809-10—Senator from Ohio.

1810-1814—Governor of Ohio.

1814-1823—Post Master General of the United States.

Louisiana, called on the deponent with a request that the deponent would accompany him and other Gentlemen to the Lodgings of Col. Burr to pay their respects to him-- Deponent called on Col. Burr at the time and place pointed out by Judge Meigs, and was by him introduced to Col. Burr--and this deponent declares was the first of his acquaintance with the accused--

Col. Burr remained several days at Marietta, the Deponent saw him occasionally, at judge Meigs', twice at his own house--also saw him the day of General Muster at Marietta.- The Deponent never had any secret conversation with Col. Burr of any nature,- did not hear him make mention of any expedition of any kind.

In the social conversations held in the presence of Col. Burr, the subjects were of a general nature- Heard no remarks from Col. Burr, that in any way induced him to suppose he wished to wean the attachment of the people West of the mountains, from the General Government- heard no remark from Col. Burr that in any way related to the local situation of the people West of the mountains, excepting an answer to an observation made by the Deponent- which was as follows: The Deponent observed to Col. Burr, that he concluded that he (Col. Burr) found the country west of the mountains more populous than he expected, and that in fact that they were of more national consequence than the people East of the Mountains generally believed.- Col. Burr, in answer to this remark observed, "You should make yourselves of consequence."- The conversation ended here, nor was the subject ever after renewed, tho' the Deponent had several conversations with Col. Burr, after the foregoing remark.-- Col. Burr left Marietta, one of the first days in November, since which the Deponent has not seen him, till he met him here in Court.

The Deponent, after reading the President's address to both houses of Congress, at the opening of the session in 1805, concluded from certain communications therein made, that there was great reason to expect a war with Spain--<sup>18</sup> He heard much conversation on the subject, heard it mentioned that Col. Burr's excursion through Louisiana, was to examine the state of affairs in that country, and that in case of a war he would take the

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<sup>18</sup>See letter of Jefferson to Claiborne--April 27, 1806, Ford "Writings of Jefferson" vol. VIII 442; also letter to Rev. Charles Clay, January 11, 1807--Vol. IX. 6 and 7; also McCaleb 105.

command of the Army.- Under these impressions, sometime in December, the Deponant wrote to Col. Burr, noting the foregoing remarks, and informing him, that in case a war should follow the outrages complained of by the President, on the part of Spain, he should be glad to obtain a command in the Army of the United States raised for that purpose- Col. Burr answered this letter on the 19th Jany, 1806. He says "The whole "(says he) country it seems is full of warlike feeling and talk of "nothing else- You may indeed expect that there will be a "great deal of precious ink spilt, and many brave words uttered, "but no other war either with France or Spain- with England, "it is probable there will be a sort of commercial war, which "may lead to a very distressing Naval war." Col. Burr further observes, that he is much indebted to those rumors for the letter of the Deponant, and assures him, if he ever takes the field, he shall invite the Deponant to be of the party-- and then adds "as you have provoked me to write on the subject I will "mention that I have lately procured for the use of my friends "a few copies of "*The Duty of a Soldier and Discipline of the Infantry* as now practiced in the French Army-- and as you "are disposed to amuse yourself that way, I have reserved a "sett for you, and shall by the first safe hand offer them for "your acceptance."

Col. Burr sent the above mentioned books to Marietta by Majr Floyd,<sup>19</sup> who left them with Gen. Buell,<sup>20</sup> together with a letter dated the 20th Jany, merely mentioning his sending the books by him- The Deponant did not see Majr Floyd when at Marietta nor has he seen him since the year 1804- From Washington the 30th of March 1806 the Deponant received a letter from Col. Burr, in the words following-

"D[ea]r Sir,

Sometime in January last I wrote you by our friend Maj. Floyd to whose care I also committed two Volumes, containing

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<sup>19</sup> Davis Floyd of Jeffersonville, Indiana. He joined the Blennerhassett-Tyler party at the Falls of the Ohio in the expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1806. In 1807, he was convicted in Indiana for complicity with Aaron Burr and served a term in prison. In 1817, he represented Harrison County in the Constitutional Convention of Indiana.

<sup>20</sup> General Buell—1803-1805, member of Senate of Ohio; December 9, 1806, as Major-general of the militia, under orders from Governor Tiffin of Ohio, seized Burr's flotilla in the Muskingum.



the dicipline and tactics of the French Infantry, and a small pamphlet on our Barbary affairs-- It would gratify me to learn that the Books and letter had been received--

You will have heard from every quarter confirmation of what I wrote you respecting War-- the object of Gov[ernmen]t seems to be to purchase the Floridas- yet notwithstanding the pacific temper of the administration, it would not surprise me if Spain should commence hostilities against us on account of the expedition of General Miranda<sup>21</sup> against the province of Caracas, this expedition having been fitted out and not very secretly in the port of N[ew] York, and being composed of American citizens-- Allow me then to ask you whether in case of War, a full regiment could be promptly raised in your part of the state of Ohio- If you think so, and will send me a list of the persons you would recommend for Officers from the Ensign upwards, I will in the event of a call for troops recommend your list to the department of War.-- In making such list you should not confine your attention to those who now hold commissions in the Militia--

I enclose herewith two more documents, which you may if you see proper publish in your Newspaper, respecting our Barbary concerns-

With much respect and consideration

I am Dr Sir, Your friend & St.

A. Burr"

This letter the Deponant answered by remarking, as Congress had risen without taking any measures for raising troops the Deponant concluded there would be no call, but should a call for troops be made, the Deponant observed that he would forward him the list required.

The Deponant was on a journey to N[ew] York and Connecticut, at the time Col. Burr was at Marietta last season- he returned the 10th day of September and understood Col. Burr had then left Marietta, eight or ten days.-

About the 1st of November, the Deponant received a letter from Col. Burr, Dated at Lexington the 21 of October 1806, delivered by a Mr. Butler,<sup>22</sup> in which Col. Burr observes, "That "a War with Spain is more than ever probable, and to me ap-

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<sup>21</sup> See note 8.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly Thomas Butler, son of Col. Butler of Pittsburgh, who brought Mrs. Blennerhassett down the river to join her husband in Mississippi territory, early in 1807.

"pears inevitable. I hope you will not engage in any occupation which would prevent you from taking an active part in "case of such an event."

Mr. Butler was at the house of the Deponant about one hour. The Deponant had no conversation with him respecting any expedition or enterprise of Col. Burr, or any other person,-

In some one of the last days in November Mr. Blennerhassett sent to the Deponant a letter, which he had received under cover from Col. Burr directed to the deponant, of which the following is a copy

"Dear Sir,

It is impossible for a man to make any calculations of his time, when he is liable to be detained by public prosecutions. You have doubtless heard of the ridiculous proceedings against me in this State by Messrs Davies & Co.-<sup>23</sup> If the information had come to this place four hours later, I should have been on my way to Marietta and then it is easy to imagine what would have been said and written.

I shall go tomorrow to Cincinnati, where it is probable my stay will be six or eight days. If any business should bring you thither within that time it would gratify me extremely to meet you there, for it is no longer probable that I shall return through Marietta, and if I go by way of Chillicothe it will be without pausing in that town long enough to allow a hope of seeing you there.

I had a very great desire to interest you in the extensive speculation in which I am engaged and think I would have shown you your interest in it, as well as public benefit. I am authorized in saying that it is the wish of Gov[ernmen]t that American settlers should go to the country west of the Mississippi in the Orleans Territory-<sup>24</sup> Indeed a man high in office and in the confidence of the Pres[iden]t told me that I should render a very great service to the public and afford pleasure to

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<sup>23</sup> Joseph Hamilton Daviess, prosecuting attorney for the federal district of Kentucky, by his motion in court caused the trial of Burr at Frankfort, in November 1806. He is the author of "A View of the President's Conduct Concerning the Conspiracy of 1807" (Frankfort 1807); see correspondence between Jefferson and Daviess in volumes VIII of "Jefferson's Writings" (Ford), 424, 467, 473; also Clark's "Proofs of Corruption of General Wilkinson"—notes 92 to 98.

<sup>24</sup>See Jefferson's Writings VIII 442; IX 9.

the administration, if I should take ten thousand men to that country-- (I wish it was in my power)- Notwithstanding all this, I am told that the utmost alarm has been excited in your neighbourhood on account of preparations which I am making for about 100 or 150 settlers---

The rumors of my building Gun Boats, Ships &c, have been fabricated by a few designing men illy affected to the [Governmen]t and I am surprised to hear that some well disposed and intelligent men have become the Dupes.

Believe me always

Your faithful friend & St.

A. Burr"

The Deponant answered this letter by Mr. Blennerhassett by observing that he could not engage in the enterprise without knowing the outlines of its designs and object- and this the deponant declares is all the correspondence he has had with Col. Burr, on the subject now before the Court.

The Deponant met Mr. Blennerhassett about 50 miles from Marietta in the beginning of November last on his way from Kentucky- Mr. Blennerhassett observed he had been entering into an extensive speculation in which he wished to interest the Deponant. After the Deponant returned to Marietta, he frequently saw Mr. Blennerhassett, but had no searious conversation with him till the day after he received Col. Burr's letter of the 18th Nov. which the Deponant believes was between the 20th & 30th of that month. Mr. Blennerhassett then came to the house of the Deponant and observed that he believed it was the wish of Col. Burr, the Deponant should join them in the enterprise. Deponant observed, that there seemed to be a mystery about it-- Mr. Blennerhassett said there was no mystery- their main object was the settlement of the Washita land,<sup>25</sup> that Col. Burr might have other views that *he* might communicate, but those depended on circumstances.- The Deponant then informed Mr. Blennerhassett, that he would not take his family to settle another new country- That if it was an authorized Military expedition he would engage in it, and doubted not he

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<sup>25</sup> A Spanish grant to Baron Bastrop on the Red river in what is now northern Louisiana. The land was purchased in Lexington through Colonel Charles Lynch of Kentucky. See Evidence of Colonel Lynch, Annals of Congress 1807-08 p. 657.



could procure several hundred men- but on no other conditions would he engage. To this Mr. Blennerhassett replied he only wanted men enough to work the boats, and in case he could not engage them on the terms he offered, he would hire them by the month, to assist in taking the Boats to the Washita Lands--- after the deponant had fully declared to Mr. Blennerhassett his determination not to engage in the enterprise, he with a smile said to Mr. Blennerhassett, "Well sir, if I will become an adventurer, will you engage me the Rank I now hold,"- Yes, said Mr. Blennerhassett, I will give you my place (or my rank or birth) The answer appeared to the Deponant to be made with the same understanding, and meaning with which the question was put, but Mr. Blennerhassett soon after said, as for Military appointments; either I have nothing to do with them or we have nothing to do with them.

After this conversation was closed, Mr. Blennerhassett said to the Deponant, that he had been deeding away his property at the Island- The Deponant expressed some surprise. Mr. Blennerhassett said it was in consequence of his having engaged in the foregoing enterprise, and not knowing what might be the consequence of certain transactions he had chosen to be guarded against the worst.- The Deponant did not know then of Mr. Blennerhassett having in any way involved himself in any transactions of a pecuniary nature, and at the time put the most unfavorable construction on the expressions.

The Deponant saw Mr. Blennerhassett a number of times after this conversation, but he never introduced to the Depo-  
nant again, the subject of his becoming an adventurer in the enterprise-- The deponant was present when a young man by the name of Foster offered his services to Mr. Blennerhassett, to accompany him down the River, and asked what offers he made the people that joined him- Mr. Blennerhassett observed, "we give them 100 acres of good land on Red River, and (I think) one years provision, and if at any time they are disposed to return, we find them money to bear their expenses back."

On the 8th or 9th of December, the Deponant saw Mr. Blennerhassett at Marietta, he was then preparing to return to the Island, and said he would call on the Deponant the day following- On the day the boats were seized,<sup>26</sup> in the after part of the

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<sup>26</sup> December 9, 1806.

day, the Deponant was informed that Mr. Blennerhassett was to leave the Island that evening or night, and wished to see the Deponant.- The Deponant had an account against Mr. Blennerhassett for articles furnished out of his store, and wished to close it- he was anxious to see Mr. Blennerhassett before he left the Island- The Deponant left his house about six o'clock, but waited at Munsell's Tavern<sup>27</sup> two hours for company.- He rode down to Belpre,<sup>28</sup> with a Mr. Dana<sup>29</sup> and a Mr. Brown, the latter belonging to Tyler's boats- on the road, Deponant asked Mr. Brown whether there was any reason for the alarms that then prevailed, on account of their designs- Brown answered, that he never heard of any unlawful design, till he heard it from public report- That so far as he knew of their object it was both lawful and honorable. Deponant observed, that he had heard the men with Tyler<sup>30</sup> were armed. Brown said it was not so- there were three or four—or five guns, that some of the people had brought.- The Deponant arrived at Col. Bent's,<sup>31</sup> opposite to Mr. Blennerhassetts, at about 11 o'clock, left his horse there and crossed the river to the Island in a small boat which was lying on the West shore; in company with a Mr. Nahum Bent, Mr. Brown and one or two other persons- The boat touched against the stern of the upper boat belonging to Tyler, and landed at the bow of that boat- The Deponant heard no one hail, was asked no questions on landing, and saw no sentinels or out lights- excepting a very low fire at the foot of the wharf or landing place.- The Deponant saw two or three men in each of the four boats belonging to Tyler,- there was either a candle, or some other kind of light in each boat,- the Deponant having walked within four or five feet of the head of each boat- from the boats the Deponant proceeded to Mr. Blennerhassett's house, a distance of about 30 Rods- on entering the Hall he

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<sup>27</sup> A well known tavern at Marietta.

<sup>28</sup> A town on the Ohio below Marietta and opposite Blennerhassett Island.

<sup>29</sup> Edmund P. Dana—of Belpre. For testimony see Carpenter "Trial of Burr" Volume II 184, 185; III 227-230; Robertson "Trial" I 528-529; American State Papers Miscell. I 511.

<sup>30</sup> Comfort Tyler of New York, left Beaver, Pa. December 1, 1806 and with his party stopped at Blennerhassett Island, leaving there with the Blennerhassett party December 10. He descended the Ohio and the Mississippi with the expedition and was arrested in Mississippi territory.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Bent, a prominent citizen of Belpre. Nahum Bent is his son.



noticed a number of persons, which he supposed to belong to Mr. Tyler, amounting to 20 or upwards. The Deponent saw lying on a side table two pair of Pistols, a coarse sword or cutlass, and saw some of the persons wore Dirks. As the Deponent stepped into the room he met Mr. Blennerhassett about two steps from the door apparently ready to take his departure. Mr. Blennerhassett said to the Deponent, he was fearful he should not see him before his departure. Deponent replied "I am sorry you are in such haste". Mr. Blennerhassett then spoke to the Deponent of the law of Ohio, by which the boats had been taken, and the warrant issued against his person, and appeared to be acquainted with some parts of the law. The Deponent at that time had not seen the law, but having understood, that it had empowered either of the judges of the supreme court or President of the common Pleas to examine, and bind over or acquit, any person taken up by virtue of that act, said to Mr. Blennerhassett that the court of Common Pleas would sit at Marietta in a few days, that it would be much better for him to remain and take his trial; that if their object was such as had been represented he could have nothing to fear from the trial, that at all vents he could not expect to escape,- as the people of the state were generally alarmed, and the law had made it the duty of the Militia to assist in the execution of the warrant, and that he might expect to meet armed forces on the river. Mr. Blennerhassett in reply observed that he considered some parts of the law unconstitutional, and a direct violation of the rights of citizens, as it was attempted to be executed- that he did not fear the consequence of a trial, but that he was unwilling to be detained for such a length of time, as by that detention he would not be able to join the other adventurers at the time and place agreed on-- The Deponent then asked Mr. Blennerhassett whether it would not be better to remain another day and see whether a suitable arrangement could not be entered into by corresponding with the agent at Marietta, Mr. Blennerhassett in reply to this informed the deponent that Col. Phelps<sup>32</sup> had ordered the Militia of Wood County to meet at 8 o'clock (Deponent thinks) the next morning, and that they had already threatened to burn his house and kill him- that he

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<sup>32</sup> Commander of Virginia militia who took possession of Blennerhassett Island December 11, 1806 the day after the Tyler-Blennerhassett party left.



did not think it safe to fall into the hands of such an ignorant, enraged multitude which he only considered as a Mob.- Mr. Tyler then told the people in the room to take their things aboard the boats- The Deponent saw a number of small packages taken up by the people which, appeared to him blankets and some cooking utensils.- but does not recollect to have seen any other arms than those already described in this Deposition- The Deponent then proceeded to the river with Mr. Blennerhassett, Mrs. Blennerhassett Mr. Tyler a Dr McCastle and his lady, and the people of the boats, generally. The boats of Mr. Tyler were resting their bows on a small sand bar surrounded with water. At the foot of the way down the bank there was a way made of rails that had served as a foot way to get on to the bow- it was very difficult crossing on this foot way, and there Mrs. Blennerhassett stopped to take leave of her husband- a conversation took place here pretty much of the nature of that described by Jacob Albright<sup>33</sup> in his evidence given in Court.- The Deponent recollects a conversation respecting Mr. Blennerhassett descending the River in a canoe- also that of sending horses to meet him near Gallipolis, at the mouth of Leading creek, the Deponent thinks.-- Mr. Blennerjassett did not seem disposed to adopt either way- Mr. Tyler asked the Deponent what he thought on the subject- The Deponent then related to Mr. Tyler the conversation he had held with Mr. Blennerhassett in the house, before he (Tyler) had joined them. This was in the presence of Mr. Blennerhassett; Mr. Blennerhassett answered that he had already detained Col. Tyler 2 days- The Deponent then told Mr. Blennerhassett, that if he persisted in going, he should think it better to take his horse and travel through the State of Ohio. Mr. Blennerhassett said he would keep with the boats- The Deponent then said, I hope or presume, that you have no idea of making any resistance in case attempts shall be made to arrest you- The Deponent was answered by Mr. Blennerhassett (he thinks)-No, certainly not, nothing is further from our intention- we shall surrender ourselves to the civil authority whenever it shall present itself- our object is both lawful and honorable as respects the United States-- And then Col. Tyler added, "if we were disposed to defend ourselves, we are not in a situation to do it, having but

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<sup>33</sup> See testimony, American State Papers miscell. I 504.

3 or 4- or 5 Guns some Pistols and Dirks on board- at the same time he added that should any unauthorized attempts be made to arrest them, they would defend themselves as well as they could.- The Deponant will not say, at such a length of time, that he has followed the exact words that were uttered by those persons in the conversation; but he knows he has expressed the substance, and as near the exact words, as his recollection enables him to do.

After the foregoing conversation, Mr. Blennerhassett crossed over to the bar, and the Deponant returned to Mr. Blennerhassett's house with Mrs. Blennerhassett, and Doctor McCastle and Wife.

This Deponant having been present, and heard the two several examinations of Jacob Albright, before the Circuit Court in Richmond in the case of Col. Burr and being questioned by the said Aaron Burr, as to his (this Deponants) knowledge of the facts deposed to by said Albright- He answers and further deposes that at the time of the visiting of the Island above mentioned, he neither had or pretended to have any authority, civil or Military to arrest said Harman Blennerhassett, or any other person, and that he neither attempted, nor threatened nor proposed to arrest any person on said Island at that time or any other time- That this Deponant passed about half an hour, on the shore with Mr. Blennerhassett, and the people belonging to the boats; that no guns were levelled at him, nor any incivility offered to him.- The Deponant cannot say there were no guns in the hands of the men, the night was so dark, it was only by candle or fire light that objects were to be discovered. The Deponant stood by the foot way across the water while the people about him went over to the bar as the lights were held at this place while the people were crossing, the Deponant really believes that it could not have escaped his observation had the men been all armed with guns, or so armed as to give them a Warlike appearance. Quest[ion]. What time did the boats leave the Island? Ans. After the people had crossed on to the bar, and the Deponant supposed they were about going aboard- it was mentioned that two of Mr. Blennerhassetts' negroes had escaped; and some of the people returned in search of them, while the boats waited. The Deponant therefore cannot tell at what time they did leave the shore, they were gone from the Landing in the morning-



Quest. Did you see Mr. Woodbridge<sup>34</sup> that night?— Ans. I did not, I was informed that he had gone to bed with Mr. Belknap<sup>35</sup> before I arrived, saw them both there the next morning, and returned with them to Marietta.

Quest. Had the President's proclamation<sup>36</sup> appeared in that country, at the time you were at the Island—

Answer— I do not believe it had, I had heard nothing of it, till the Mail arrived at Marietta, which was on Friday the 12th of December— and that Mail brought the Proclamation, which was reprinted at Marietta, and circulated in hand bills.—

Quest. What day did the law for seizing the boats arrive at Marietta?

Ans. I believe it came by express from Chillicothe, to Judge Meigs in the morning of the 9th of December, but I did not see the Law, till after 12 O'clock the 11th of December.

Quest. On what day, and at what time of the day, were the boats seized?

Ans. They were seized on the 10th day of the month,<sup>37</sup> at about six o'clock in the evening.—

Quest. Were they seized by a civil, or Military authority?

Ans. On the morning of the 10th the Deponent saw Mr. Pool<sup>38</sup> who informed him that he had been sent by Judge Meigs the day before, to Col. Barker's<sup>39</sup> to know when the boats were to be Launched, as they were to be stopped at Marietta.,

Deponent soon after saw men assembling with their arms, and procuring ammunition, understood the Major General had

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<sup>34</sup> Dudley Woodbridge of Marietta, business partner of Blennerhassett at time of the Conspiracy; 1802-1804, Judge of Common Pleas Court of Washington County, Ohio. For testimony see Carpenter II 168-175; III 108-109; Robertson I 518-526.

<sup>35</sup> Mr. Belknap—see Note 14.

<sup>36</sup> The proclamation of Jefferson, November 27, 1806.

<sup>37</sup> The date usually given for the seizure of the boats is December ninth. See Notes 20 and 26.

<sup>38</sup> Simeon Poole—sent by Governor Tiffin to apprehend Blennerhassett before the departure of the Tyler-Blennerhassett party from the Island; 1809—Member of Ohio House of Representatives from Washington County. For testimony see Carpenter II 182-184; Robertson I 526-528; American State Papers miscell I 509; Gano Papers III 45.

<sup>39</sup> Colonel Joseph Barker, 1804 Judge of Common Pleas Court, Washington County; 1818, 1834-1835. Member of Ohio House from Washington County.



ordered out thirty or forty men from the companies in Marietta- The Captain of the Artillery informed the Deponant, that he had received orders to have the Cannon in readiness to assist in seizing the boats- these soldiers seized the boats under command of Capt. Hill, but whether he had a Warrant, I cannot say.

Quest. How many men were there on board those boats, said to belong to the expedition? Ans. I understood there were four. Quest. Were they armed? Ans. I saw them as they came from the boats- they had no arms- nor did I ever understand there were any arms on board the boats.

Question by . . . . Have you ever had any conversation with Judge Migs [sic], on the subject of the inquiry now before the Court, or of the boats built on the Muskingum which were seized at Marietta- Answer. Sometime in November Judge Meigs was at my office, and in conversation observed, - that the boats building by Col. Barker would be seized before they went out of the Muskingum- The Deponant asked, how seized? Judge Meigs answered by "the Militia, or Military- Deponant expressed his surprise at Military seizures, I asked Judge Meigs from whence such authority was derived? Meigs answered "I believe there is sufficient authority in the State"- The Deponant asked from whom the authority came- Meigs answered The President of the United States has the power. Deponant still expressed his doubts as to the President having such authority, and observed to Judge Meigs that if the expedition was against Mexico,- he thought it punishable, in the same manner, as pursued in the case of Smith and Ogden,<sup>40</sup> which was by a Warrant,- but if it was a treasonable design- he thought some preliminary steps necessary before the President could call on the Military.-- And that as he (Judge Meigs) had made the law his study, he thought *he* could point out the Law he alluded to.- Judge Meigs made some remarks on the general powers given the President, in some clause of the Constitution.- The Deponant was still unconvinced of the right of seizing by a Military force without a Warrant, and said, that "if the Governor were to command him, to order out the Militia to seize the boats he would be damned if he would obey the order," and then added, that he (the deponant) would order out the men and march them to whatever place he was commanded to march

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<sup>40</sup> See Adams III 195.

them, but would make no seizures, without a civil officer, with a Warrant, proceeded him. This conversation the Deponant declares was about the time Mr. Graham<sup>41</sup> was at Marietta.

On or about the sixth day of December and after the foregoing conversation, the Legislature of Ohio passed a Law, authorizing the Governor, or his deputy, to seize with a Warrant, the above boats, and any person concerned, in the enterprise for which they were designed. And making it the duty of the Militia to aid the civil officer whenever aid was necessary.—Major General Buell, sent his Aiddecamp to the Deponant, with the foregoing Law, together with a note, that *he* (Gen. Buell) might call on the Deponant to assist him in carrying the foregoing Law into effect. The Deponant immediately called on Gen. Buell, found him with Judge Meigs, and in the presence of Judge Meigs, informed Gen. Buell, that he was ready to attend to any order he should give on the subject of his note.

In a conversation with Judge Meigs, after the Deponant returned from Blennerhassetts Island, Judge M[e]igs asked the Deponant, what number of men Tyler had,— The Deponant answered he thought about thirty-five.— Meigs asked how they were armed.— Deponant answered, they had some Guns, some Pistols, some Dirks— and perhaps added a sword.— This the Deponant believes is the amount of conversation had with said Meigs.

Edw. W. Tupper.

United States to wit

Edward W. Tupper appeared personally before me this 8th day of Sept<sup>r</sup> 1807 & made oath in due form of law to the foregoing affidavit.

J. Marshall Ch. Just. of the U. S.

On the evening of saturday, I called on George Hay Esquire,<sup>42</sup> and presented to him for his perusal the annexed deposition— Mr Hay complained of being unwell and appointed the following morning to examine it— On the morning of sunday I

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<sup>41</sup> John Graham—secretary of Orleans territory, afterwards chief clerk in office of Secretary of State. For testimony, see American State Papers miscell. I 491; Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of General James Wilkinson, appointed February 26, 1811. Read and ordered to be transmitted to the President of United States; Honorable Ezekiel Bacon Chairman. (A. and G. Way Printers 1811). pp. 330-334; Annals 1807-08, p. 486.

<sup>42</sup> Attorney for the United States in the District of Virginia, who prosecuted Burr in the trial at Richmond.



again called on Mr. Hay, handed him the same deposition and stated to him that I wished to leave the town, and for that purpose to have the consent of both parties, which I understood to have been done in several instances- At the same time I told Mr Hay that I would answer any questions he might put to me--- I showed to him the original Letters of Col. Burr, and desired him, if he thought proper to compare them with the extracts contained in the deposition, to see if anything material was omitted. Mr Hay said the deposition was (very) long, that he was then unwell and c[ould] not read it, but that he would consent that it might be taken, and that I might depart provided I would furnish him with a copy. He declined to put any questions to me or to examine the original Letters.-

On the evening of the 7th I again called on Mr Hay, left with him the deposition, there being then indorsed the certificate of consent for his signature, and the engagement signed by Mr Botts<sup>43</sup> to furnish a copy, and I again offered to answer any questions he might put after he had examined it Mr Hay desired that I would leave the deposition with him and call again in the morning of the next day, at which time he would know if any questions were necessary- I left with him the deposition and called again this morning when Mr Hay said, that there was extraneous matter, and mentioned my having anticipated Judge Meigs evidence and declined to sign the consent- whereupon being under the necessity of leaving the town, I made oath to the truth of the deposition and left with Nathaniel Gates, now attending as a witness the five original letters of Col. Burr, being the only letters which I ever received from him on this or any other subject except one or two letters of common introduction and nothing more-

Edw. W. Tupper

Richmond 8th September 1807

United States to wit

Edward Tupper appeared before me this 9th day of Sept, 1807 and made oath that the statement made on the foregoing paper is true

J. Marshall Ch. Jus. of the U. S.

Genl. Tupper's affidt.

[Endorsed as follows:]

U. States vs. Burr & Blennerhassett

Genl Tupper's affidavit

Filed 21st Sept. 1807

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<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Botts of Virginia, one of the lawyers for the defense of Burr at Richmond.



#### IV.

### AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL HENRY MALLET PREVOST, SEPTEMBER 28, 1807.

I the Under Signed Paul Henry Mallet Prevost<sup>44</sup> Citizen of the United States Residing in the County of Hunterdon, State of New Jersey, now in the City of Richmond after duly sworn declare

That after some years passed Without any direct or indirect communication With Col. Aaron Burr, I received from him sometime in June Eighteen hundred and six, a letter informing me that he was then With his daughter and her family at so small a distance from my plantation, that they Would seize that opportunity for spending some few hours With My family and Would come up the following sunday.

That upon some Circumstances particular to me, I thought proper to avoid Meeting With Col. Burr in the State Where I am living. In consequence, apologizing upon the low State of health of part of my family, I told him in my answer that I would go down myself to see them- The following Saturday, late in the afternoon, came to My house, With a letter of introduction from Col. Burr, a Gentleman till then completely unknown to me, Doct<sup>r</sup> Erick Bollman,<sup>45</sup> after the usual civilities, I informed him of My engagement to go the Next day to Col. Burr's, and of my Wish to realise it, if he had no objection against accompanying me. To What Doct Bollman assented Cheerfully, and the rest of the day Was spent in showing him My farm, Mills &c., Without any private communication.

That the Next day, as We Were riding in the same Chair I opened Myself, by my questions, a conversation upon speculation on lands in the Western parts of the Union; Which I Was supposing, Col. Burr had made in his late tour in Louisiana.

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<sup>44</sup> In the Official Register of the United States of 1829, he appears as Post-Master at Alexandria, New Jersey. Burr's wife was Theodosia Prevost.

<sup>45</sup> A German scientist, who carried a duplicate of Burr's cipher letter of July 29, 1806 by the sea route to New Orleans; July 14, 1807 Jefferson wrote to Lafayette "I am sorry to tell you that Bollman, was Burr's right hand man in all his guilty schemes." (Jefferson's Writings IX 114.) See also McCaleb 339. He was arrested with Ogden and Swartwout by Wilkinson in New Orleans December 14, 1806, and sent the next day with Swartwout by sea to Washington. See Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 470.

Doctr Bollman's answers in substance Were; that Col. Burr had some Views in that part, of which he would probably inform me; that they Were upon a very extensive scale, and Would probably require some help from capitalists, and that he, Bollman, intended to sail shortly after for Europe, to try to Negotiate there for some loan for that purpose- That if I could give him some letters of introduction for some of My friends there, they Would be of service to him in his Mission- I answered to him, that twelve years spent in this country, employed only and entirely in my farmer's occupations had confined my correspondence With Europe to very few old Parents and friends, all retired now from financial or Commercial business, and all they could do for him, Would be to introduce him to their own friends in a more active line- There fell the conversation, Which after Was very general and never since Was renewed on that topic or any other relative to it- We arrived at Falsington, Pensilvania, place Where Col. Burr had taken his lodgings; it was about dinner time; We dined With a large company, chiefly quakers, members of the Landlord's family- After dinner Col. Burr told me that they Were invited to a Tea party at Gen<sup>al</sup> Moreau's<sup>46</sup> at Morrisville, Where they Would introduce me. Very anxious myself to see that great officer, I accepted, and Went With them- We found there a numerous society of both sexes and spent the Whole evening Without any private conversation With anybody- In the evening Doctr Bollman started for Philad<sup>a</sup> and since then, I have neither seen nor heard of him, except in the newspapers, till late in May last- The Next Morning When I came down to the drawing room, I observed some books and some Maps on the table. I opened one of the Maps Which, as far as I may depend upon my Memory, Was a Manuscript one, and intended to illuminate the important point then in dispute; the real boundaries of Louisiana. That led me When Col. Burr came in, to some questions upon that very point- I cannot recollect literally his answers, but believe the sense of them to be, that, that question never could be settled without War- that the people lately settled or settling now, west of the Mississippi, were very uneasy about it, and anxious to see a term

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<sup>46</sup> Moreau was exiled from France by Napoleon on account of alleged connection with Pichegru's attempt on Napoleon's life. France and Spain looked at him suspiciously on account of his visit to New Orleans while in the United States.



put to the controversy and were generally disposed to join the army of the U. S. as soon as war should be declared; some to secure their propriety, and some in the expectation of a chance to signalize themselves and advance their fortune- That such were the Considerations which induce him to enter in speculation on lands in that part, and that he would be glad, should I wish to have any share in it--- In answer I made him a general exposition of my present circumstances, which did not offer me, for the present, the means to join myself to it &c. During that conversation the young Lady came in and as she was repeating very kindly the expression of her regrets, to leave those parts without seeing my family; I suggested her the idea to tide up the River with her father, part of the way, to a place called New Hope, Pennsylvā, where I could come down with my whole family. They both agreed and fixed the next Wednesday-- The day appointed I came down the River Delaware in my own boat, with my wife, my second son, my daughter in law, my grandson eleven months old, a young black nurse for the child and an hired boatman; we landed at New Hope, about at twelve oclock, and found there already arrived Col. Burr, his Daughter and his grandson- We took our dinner and at four oclock, after very friendly but no private conversation whatever, we parted- Since that day till I came to Richmond, I had neither direct nor indirect communication with Col. Burr, and had not heard of him till the newspapers began to entertain the public with his plans- Further I declare that I have not crossed the River Susquehannah, nor been twenty miles west of Philadelphia since the year seventeen hundred & ninety four, till the time I have been subpoenaed to appear before the district court of Virginia, and that till then, I was personally acquainted with none of the persons; either implicated in the present action, or called as me for witnesses; Doctor Bollman excepted; as far as afore mentioned Further I don't know

Richmond September 28th 1807      Paul H. Mallet Prevost

City of Richmond SS.

Personally appeared before me Edward Carrington a Magistrate for sd. City, the above named Paul Mallet Prevost, and made oath that the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed is true.

Given under my hand this 28th, Sept. 1807.

E. Carrington



## V.

### ORDERS FROM WILKINSON<sup>47</sup> TO LIEUTENANT COL- ONEL FREEMAN,<sup>48</sup> OCT. 13, 1807.

Hd. Quarters Natchitoches

Confidential

Octr, 13th, 1806.

It is necessary we should be prepared for offense on the side of Mobile, and therefore I wish you could continue a couple of 24 pds [?] with an eight inch Howitz[er], ammunitioned for a short siege, to Fort Stoddert to which place I have ordered Swaine<sup>49</sup> to descend with his whole Command- Majr Nicoll<sup>50</sup> must be immediately ordered to take the Command of the Post with a party of your best instructed Artillerists- I submit to your invention to devise the best mode for carrying forward these articles, but will suggest the expediency of sending a vessel up the Tensaw to pass Mobile in the night- You will however judge of the mode and adopt the best, if the thing be practicable, otherwise it must not be attempted.

As I have no prospect of being able to visit you, it is necessary that you should proceed with the Block House at your discretion, and therefore I trust with you the Secretary's Letter to me on the subject and my answer to Him.

Lt. Col. Freeman.                      respectfully I am Sir      Yr obt set

## VI

A Copy of the orders from the Secretary of the Department of War to General James Wilkinson, November 27, 1806.

"War Department"

"Sir,

"November 27th 1806"

"You will please to direct the stations of the armed vessels in the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain in such manner as you may judge most advantageous under existing circumstances; and, if your arrangements with the Spaniards will permit you to withdraw from the Frontier with some part of the Troops,

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<sup>47</sup> Nachitoches were Wilkinson's headquarters, October 1806, and it was here that Swartwout arrived October eighth with Burr's letter of July 29. Although unsigned, these orders may be said therefore to have been Wilkinson's.

<sup>48</sup> Constant Freeman, see Heitman's Historical Register of the United States Army, I 435.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Swaine, Heitman I 938.

<sup>50</sup> Abimael Youngs Nicoll, Heitman I 748.

you will please to take post at such places, and dispose of the Troops in such manner, as will most effectually intercept and prevent any unlawful enterprise, ether on New Orleans, or elsewhere;- and at all events you will use every exertion in your power to frustrate and effectually *prevent, any enterprise which has for its object, directly or indirectly, any hostile act, or any part of the Territories of the United States, or on any of the Territories of the King of Spain.*"

"I have agreed with the French Minister for the brass Ordnance at New Orleans, belonging to France; and expect by the next mail to forward an order for its delivery with the whole apparatus belonging to it."<sup>51</sup>

"Any person or persons, who may be found in or about your camp, or post, with evident intention of sounding either officer or soldier, with a view to an unlawful expedition, should be arrested, and, if not amenable to military law, be delivered over to the Civil authority to be dealt with as the law directs, particularly the law for punishing any persons, who shall be concerned, in any manner, in providing, aiding, or assisting, in any enterprise, against a foreign power, with whom the United States are not at war;- and, at present, any enterprise, contemplated, or fitting out, against any part of the Territories of the King of Spain, comes fully within the provisions of said law. Before this reaches you, you will undoubtedly have received my despatches of the 8th & 10th inst.

I hope you have convinced the Spanish Governors that with the most pacific dispositions on our part, we nevertheless cannot tamely brook violations of our Territorial rights;- and that you will be at leisure to oppose any wild and extravagant enterprises from our own Citizens."

I certify that the within & foregoing  
is a true Copy from the record of the  
Department of War.

Given under my hand and the seal  
of the War Office of the United States this  
Seventeenth day of June one thousand eight  
hundred and seven                      H. Dearborn  
Secy of War.

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<sup>51</sup> Folch, Spanish governor of West Florida, had also attempted to buy cannon from the French at New Orleans this same year; Desforgues to Folch March 10, 1806, Legajo No. 185, Cuban Papers, Archives of the Indies, Seville. (Information kindly furnished by Dr. I. J. Cox.)

## VII

### DEPOSITION OF LEWIS KERR, SEPTEMBER 8, 1807.

The deposition of Lewis Kerr<sup>52</sup> a witness on behalf of the United States against Aaron Burr, taken at the request of the said witness, and by the consent of George Hay esquire attorney for the United States in the district of Virginia, and of the said Aaron Burr, to be read in evidence, if required, on all trials, motions or other proceedings in course of law, in which the said Aaron Burr shall be concerned at the prosecution of the said United States.

This deponent being duly sworn on his oath declares that he has no knowledge whatsoever of any criminal or illegal act committed by Aaron Burr at any time and place whatsoever, or of any intention on the part of the said Aaron Burr to commit any such act; that neither the said Aaron Burr nor any person whom this deponent knows or believes to have been engaged by or connected with the said Aaron Burr in any political or other project legal or illegal, has ever communicated to this deponent either directly or indirectly, wholly or in part, anything relating to any such project; and that this deponent has never conversed, corresponded or otherwise in any manner communicated with the said Aaron Burr or any person or persons associated with him as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, on the subject of any plan political or otherwise or military or other expedition contemplated or supposed to have been contemplated by the said Aaron Burr, previous to his indictment for treason at Richmond, save and except that this deponent since he heard of the said indictment has had some desultory and unimportant conversations with the friends of the said Aaron Burr concerning the projects which he the said Aaron Burr was supposed to have been engaged in.

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<sup>52</sup> Lewis Kerr, arrested by Wilkinson with Workman and Bradford; tried with Judge Workman in Federal Court at New Orleans January 10, 1807 to May 6, 1807; Dominic Hall acted as Judge, J. W. Gurley was attorney for the prosecution and Workman spoke in his and Kerr's defense. They were found not guilty in a charge of complicity with Burr; from *Documentos Historicos Mexicanos* Vol. I pp. 1-100. (information furnished by Dr. I. J. Cox). This differs from statement made that they were tried at Natchez March 1-3, 1807; McCaleb Page 283 and Adams III 324.



And being cross examined on interrogatories to him exhibited on the part of the said Aaron Burr, this deponent answers and further declares that his usual place of residence is New Orleans, that he has resided there since the year 1803 and never was out of that country from that time to latter end of May last; that in the month of december last the country was much alarmed with intelligence of an insurrection in the western states and of an attack said to be meditated on New Orleans; that this alarm was first excited by general Wilkinson's communications to the citizens and nothing else, and that the same alarm was in like manner kept up, unsupported by any information from any other quarter, which this deponent knows of, until the receipt of the President's proclamation of december which reached New Orleans in January, but which did not appear to this deponent to excite any extraordinary sensations in that city, as it seemed to have been induced by intelligence from the same source, namely from the general; that this deponent and all those at New Orleans who were not extravagantly under the influence of alarm or party spirit, and who reasoned with freedom and impartiality, avowed their opinion that no army had been raised in the western states, and that none could be raised there for a treasonable purpose; that about the latter end of december this deponent, in a private conference with the general, declared such to be his opinion; that secret informations tending to implicate individuals in serious charges of criminality were much sought for in New Orleans by the partizans of the general, and by the general himself; that the general in one instance solicited such information from this deponent; that this deponent has also seen two depositions which had been thus secretly taken with respect to himself; that a magistrate George Pollode (?) esquire complained to this deponent that he was sometimes not permitted to read the deposition when he swore the persons deposing, and that this conversation had reference to the depositions secretly taken under the direction of the general; that this deponent openly disapproved of the military arrests by the general without legal process, and more than once advised governor Claiborne<sup>53</sup> to interfere and resist them; and that about the end of december or beginning of January the

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<sup>53</sup> William Charles Coles Claiborne, governor of Orleans territory during the period of the "Conspiracy;" 1812-1816, Governor of State of Louisiana.

governor gave the deponent repeated assurances that there should be no more arrests of that nature; that nevertheless on the 14th of January the deponent was in like manner illegally arrested by the military under the command of the general and confined in a back chamber at the generals quarters; and this deponent finally says that he is convinced that the principal ground of suspicion against him was his unfavorable opinion of Wilkinson's conduct, and the measures which he the deponent at different times adopted to support the laws.

Sworn to in Court Sept: 10th, 1807. L. Kerr.

Wm Marshall, Clk

I consent that the above affidavit may be read in all cases of the U. States vs Aaron Burr in the manner above expressed

G. W. Hay

Atty for the U. S.

## VIII.

The Affidavit of George Peter,<sup>54</sup> September 10, 1807.

I left Orleans for Natches *on the 28th Jany* and  
Answer to arrived at Captain Farrows<sup>55</sup> in the neighbourhood  
the 1 Ques- of Natches, on the evening of *the 2d Febr'y 1807*, on  
tion a Military command, under *Capt Moses Hook*,<sup>56</sup>  
*associated with Lieuts. Mulford*<sup>57</sup> *and Smith, Doctors*  
*Davidson*<sup>58</sup> *and Carmichael*<sup>59</sup>, *we were dressed in*

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<sup>54</sup> George Peter was sent by Wilkinson to Mississippi territory to take Burr from civil authorities there; see testimony American State Papers miscell. I 566; Bacon's Report—Page 510.

<sup>55</sup> Captain Farrar, a captain of a company of dragoons which served with Wilkinson on the Sabine frontier in the summer and fall of 1806; mentioned in instructions of Wilkinson to Captain Hook and Dr. Davidson "War Department Letters Received 1807."

<sup>56</sup> See his reports to Wilkinson, February 15 and February 17, 1807 in "War Department Letters Received 1807;" also Heitman I 540; Bacon's Report 349.

<sup>57</sup> Lieutenant Clarence Mulford—Heitman I 734.

<sup>58</sup> Dr. Davidson is mentioned in a conversation of Alexander at A. L. Duncan's residence; Bacon's Report 349.

<sup>59</sup> A medical officer on the military staff of Governor Williams of Mississippi territory; see testimony Bacon's Report 347; Wilkinson Memoirs II, appendix LXXXV; Clark Proofs, note 46, Page 109. This group of men, Peter, Hook, Mulford, Davidson and Carmichael were sent by Wilkinson to Mississippi territory to seize Burr as a military prisoner when he was in the hands of the civil authorities there in January 1807.



*Citizens Clothing* but have no recollection, that we were ordered to procede in that Dress; we were *Armed with Dirks and Pistolls.*

Answer to  
Question  
2d

*Under the Orders of General Wilkinson; I have no copy of the orders they were given to the Commanding officer of the party, nor can I procure a Copy of them, but I well recollect that they ordered us to seize Colonel Burr, to embark him on board one of the Armed vessells and to return to Orleans, The orders were as usual under the authority of the President of the United States, but I do not recollect any immediate authority from the President for the seizing of Col<sup>n</sup> Burr, There was no Warrants from any Civil authority to my knowledge. The orders did not specify any charge or crime against Col<sup>n</sup> Burr to my recollection, or any other person, There were no verbal or written instructions that I recolect to use forse we were directed if we took Col<sup>n</sup> Burr to prevent his making any attempt on his own life; We were not ordered directly or indirectly to seize Col<sup>n</sup> Burr in Court, that I recolect.*

Answer to  
Question 3  
Answer to  
Question  
4

I do not recolect that we were ordered to seize the Papers of Col<sup>n</sup> Burr or any other Person.

The Evening we arrived at Capt Farrows, we found *Doctor Davidson* who had been to Natches with *Doctor Carmichael*, he informed us that he understood from Carmichael that Lieut *Jones*<sup>60</sup> of the Navy had refused to comply with the orders of *Capt Shaw*<sup>61</sup>, The next morning Capt Farrow and Doctor Davidson proceded to Washington,<sup>62</sup> shortly after they left us Doctor *Carmichael* arrived, and corroborated the information received from Davidson, with respect to *Jonses* refusal to comply with the orders of Shaw; *Doctor Carmichael* then informed

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<sup>60</sup> Also a member of Wilkinson's party for the military arrest of Burr.

<sup>61</sup> A navy officer, who later had charge of Peter Ogden but was compelled to release him on writ of habeas corpus issued by Judge Workman.

<sup>62</sup> The capitol of Mississippi Territory where Burr was tried February 2, 1807, Judges Thomas Rodney and Peter Bryan Bruin presiding. Burr was dismissed because the crime with which he was accused had not been committed in the territory.



us that the Governor had requested him as his Aid, to assure us that he would order Capt Farrows Troop to parade and furnish the Capt with orders to seize Col<sup>n</sup> Burr, and that he should either be sent to the seat of Government by land or embarked on board one of the Armed vessells; In the Evening Capt Farrow and Davidson returned and informed us that the Jury had found no bill against Col<sup>n</sup> Burr, Farrow informed us that he was ordered to have his troop in Natches the next Day ready to execute an order from the Governor,

The next morning we proceded to Natches and arrived there about 11 o Clock in the morning, At 3 in the evening Capt Farrow Paraded his Troop and dismissed them with orders to remain at the tavern, or be covnenient that they might mount at a moments warning, After waiting untill late at night and no order from the Governor, and fearful that *Col<sup>n</sup> Burr would make his escape*, I advised Capt Hook to *procede to Washington and press the Governor either to act or to suffer us*, Capt Hook left us, in camp with Lieut Connor and proceded to Washington at 2 in the night and returned in the morning and informed me that he had seen the Governor and received assurances that *Burr should not escape* and that Farrow should be ordered to take him, Under those assurances Capt Hook returned to Orleans, leaving with me the orders and instructions to act on them should the Governor not comply. The troop continued during the Day in Natches every moment expecting the order, about 12 at night *Dinsmore*<sup>63</sup> arrived with information that Colonel Burr had escaped and that he was getting hand Bills printed (by order of the Governor) offering a reward of 2000 Dollars for his apprehension.

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<sup>63</sup> Silas Dinsmore had been Indian agent to Choctaw Nation; see testimony American State Papers miscell. I 600; appointed by governor Williams to conduct Burr to Washington, D. C. after his arrest by Lieut. Gaines; left March 1, 1807 on this mission.

A report was made *to the General* I was informed by Capt Hook on his return of every transaction relating to the command; On my arrival a report was made to the General signed by Lieut Mulford Doctor Davidson and myself, I have no copy of that report, but my answer above, I think in substance a Copy of that report.

Answer to Question 5th I had no conversation with either Governor Williams<sup>64</sup> secretary Mead,<sup>65</sup> Judge Rodney,<sup>66</sup> Col<sup>n</sup> Claiborn<sup>67</sup> or Mr. Point Dexter<sup>68</sup> on the subject of the command, I think I had a moments conversation with Mr Dinsmore on that subject but am not certain.

\* If an attempt had been made to execute the orders given us, and either Col<sup>n</sup> Burr or any of his

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<sup>64</sup> Robert Williams of North Carolina, governor of Mississippi Territory 1805-1809. February 7, 1807 he issued a proclamation of reward for the return of Burr; he had been absent since the previous April and had just returned to his post January 27, 1807.

<sup>65</sup> Cowles Meade, secretary of Mississippi Territory and acting governor April 1806 to January 1807; 1821, Senator of Mississippi from Franklin County, 1822, Senator of Mississippi from Jefferson County. Governor Williams dismissed Meade because he was accused of being in sympathy with Burr's Conspiracy by Wilkinson.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Rodney—of Delaware, one of the judges before whom the trial of Burr at Washington was held, February 2, 1807. He was a brother of Caesar Rodney, the attorney-general during Jefferson's first administration. He was appointed to the Mississippi post in 1803. He refused to release Burr on bond at Washington when the Grand Jury failed to bring indictment against him, although as long as Burr was bound to appear in the Mississippi Court, he could not be taken a military prisoner, Burr feared that Wilkinson would seize him regardless of the civil authorities. This caused him to flee and led to his capture and trial later at Richmond.

<sup>67</sup> Ferdinand L. Claiborne, brother of W. C. C. Claiborne; see Heitman I 302.

<sup>68</sup> George Poindexter, United States attorney for Mississippi Territory; a member of acting Governor Meade's staff sent by Meade to interview Burr at mouth of Cole's Creek; 1817-1819, Representative in Congress from Mississippi; 1819, elected second governor of the State; 1830-1835, Senator from Mississippi. See testimony American State Papers miscell. I 568. William Bayard Shields, also aid-de-camp to Meade, went with Poindexter on the mission to Burr and returned from Cole's Creek with Burr to Washington where he acted as attorney for defense in the trial; 1819, judge of the district court of Mississippi.

Party should by force of Arms attempt to prevent  
it, in that case we certainly should have used our  
Arms Geo Peter

City of Richmond to wit-

This day Personally appeared before me a  
magistrate for the City of Richmond George  
Peter and made oath to the Truth of the facts  
contained in the above statement or affidavit  
Sept, 10th, 1807 Anderson Burnet (?)

## IX.

### AFFADAVIT OF JAMES KNOX, JUNE 19, 1807.

James Knox<sup>69</sup> maketh oath

That on the            day of May Lieut. Gaines<sup>70</sup> of the U. S. army read to him a subpoena requiring his, the said James Knox's attendance at Richmond, on the 22 of the same month, as a witness against Colo Burr. That no money was then given or tendered to him. That the Deponent said as soon as he should receive a sum of money which he expected, he should have no objection to go, though it would be impossible to arrive by the day, whereupon they parted That this Deponent did not see the said J. Wilkinson or Lieut. Gaines until he was brought on board the Vessel as hereafter mentioned. That on the evening of Sunday the 16 May he was taken by a Sheriff in the City of New Orleans and carried before Judge Hall<sup>71</sup> who informed this affiant that he had been taken up on the afft of Genl Wilkinson that he was a material witness against Colo Burr. That the said Hall insisted that this affiant should give his affidavit or go around to Richmond; That Judge Hall asked and pressed upon this affiant a number of questions, some of which he answered, tho he often repeated the objection to giving testimony until he came to court, this affiant being thoroughly impressed

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<sup>69</sup> A member of Tyler's party on the expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi; see testimony American State Papers miscell. I 491.

<sup>70</sup> Edmund Pendleton Gaines—intercepted Burr's flight and took him to Fort Stoddert; see testimony American State Papers miscell. I 491; 584; Heitman I 442.

<sup>71</sup> Dominic Hall, Judge of District of Territory of Orleans at this time; mentioned in McCaleb 219.



that the object was to inveigle or ensnare him. That finally the said Hall informed this affiant that he could not leave the custody of the sheriff until he gave Bail for his appearance the next day at eleven oclock without being told, that he recollects, for what purpose. That accordingly this affiant gave bail and appeared when printed interrogations were produced from which this affiant was again pressed to answer his questions. That this affiant told the said Judge that he might save himself the trouble of interrogating him. That the affiant was willing to give him a history of his Journey from the time of his leaving meadville to his arrival at new orleans which this affiant proceeded to do. When he had finished his narrative the said Hall gave a note to one who appeared in office and who thereupon conducted this affiant to prison and put him among the felons and negroes there: That the humanity of the Jailor relieved this affiant from the most offensive part of his situation in the use of a decent room. That while he remained in prison some of his friends came and offered to be his security for his performing any order that might be given. That those friends went out to enquire whether bail could be received and returned with an answer that it could not be received in a less sum than five or ten thousand dollars. That this affiant remained three days in prison at the end of which time Sergeant Dunbeaugh,<sup>72</sup> who occasionally carried the messages to and from Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson, with a guard took him from said prison by order of the military authority and carried him on board the United States schooner Revenge on board which he was brought to Hampton roads and from there he was conducted to the city of Richmond. That he saw an order or paper in possession of one of the officers who he understood was under the direction of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinsons importing that the Witnesses from on board of the revenge were to be transported to Richmond. That he understood from conversations with Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson, as well as from other circumstances that he this affiant hath been as aforesaid brought from new orleans to Richmond under the authority of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson. That it appeared to this affiant that there was some solicitude with the military authority nevertheless to impress the idea that

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<sup>72</sup> Jacob Dunbaugh was sent by Captain Bissel, commanding at Fort Massac, up the river to meet Burr. He went with Burr down the river. Testimony in Carpenter III 156-7; 160; 175-182; 185-6; 189; American State Papers miscell. I 514.

it was by order of the civil power, that this affiant was brought by force from new orleans and he remembers particularly an insidious and artful remark by Lieutenant Gaines to the effect that this affiant knew that he was brought around by the direction of Judge Hall- seemingly with a view to draw an acknowledgement of the agency of the said Judge in the transportation; but this affiant aware of his purpose, answered that whatever orders had been given by the judge would speak for themselves. That Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson wanted this affiant to give his parol of honor, after he came to Hampton roads to proceed to Richmond, which was the first token of conditional liberty experienced by this affiant from his commitment to prison as aforesaid. But as he wished not to be under any apparent obligations to this officer he answered that he was a prisoner and would be willing to be carried whithersoever those who had him in custody might please to carry him or words to that effect. That when he was in prison and after he was carried on board of the Vessel he begged for the liberty of going under a guard to his lodgings for his trunk, but both of those applications with one for permission to send a letter on shore were refused, and he was forced to leave the city without even a second shirt to shift himself. That this affiant hath been charged with no crime that he knows of, nor can he learn that the privations- the imprisonment and the transportation of his person was occasioned by any fault of his own. That he doth not know how many have suffered as he hath; but he believes that several of those who were brought with him have been brought by violence. That one Fort was imprisoned at the same time that this affiant was, upon his the said Forts refusing to answer the interrogatories of Judge Hall.

This affiant further saith, that while he was in prison at new orleans he wrote a note to Chandler Lindsley<sup>73</sup> requesting his attendance. That upon the Jailor seeing the note he informed this affiant that his orders would oblige him to detain the said Lindsley in prison if he came; In consequence of which he did not send the said note. That the sheriff informed him that the name of the said Lindsley was on the same warrant that was issued for him this affiant, but he believes that the sickness of the said Lindsley prevented its execution. That before the ar-

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<sup>73</sup> He was on the boat of Ellis from Pittsburgh, on the expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi. Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 520.



rest and service of the subpoena on this Witness he received a note from Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson requesting his attendance. That he attended accordingly when he was received and treated by Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson with unusual civility who offered to let this Witness have 100 or 150\$ which the witness declined receiving- To this tender the said Wilkinson added one of his services and favor whenever either should be required. That during the same interview the said Wilkinson interrogated this affiant and was in preparation with pen and ink to commit to paper what he might extract from this affiant, but this affiant after some progress had been made declined the examination, from a sense of the impropriety of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinsons conduct. That the questions put to this affiant were principally concerning Colo Burr and his plans. This affiant told the said Wilkinson that after his return home he would submit to be examined by any proper authority. The said Wilkinson remarked to this Witness seemingly to induce him to be examined, that all concerned would be acquitted. That he had no doubt but that Colo Burr would be acquitted.

Sworn to in open Court

James Knox.

19th June 1807

Wm Marshall Clk

## X.

### AFFADAVIT OF CHANDLER LINDSLEY, JUNE 18, 1807.

Chandler Lindsley<sup>74</sup> maketh oath

That on the 12th of May last he was served with a subpoena by Lieutenant Gaines<sup>75</sup> commanding his Attendance in Richmond on the 22nd of May before the Circuit Court for the District of Virginia as a Witness on behalf of the United States in the Prosecution of Col: Aaron Burr; That on full assurance being given him, by Lieutenant Gaines, of good treatment, and being fully persuaded that if he manifested any disposition to refuse obeying the subpoena he would be forced to obey, he went on board the Schooner Revenge<sup>76</sup> which had been prepared

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<sup>74</sup> See note 73.

<sup>75</sup> See note 70.

<sup>76</sup> This boat, Captain Read commanding, had been sent up the river with several others to Natchez in December 1806, to seize Burr's flotilla.



to transport Gen: Wilkinson to this Place. This Affiant considers his going on board and coming to this Place in some measure as a voluntary act on his Part, induced however as above stated from an apprehension of force being used and consequent ill treatment, he is farther induced to believe that this would have been the case (had he refused to come) by a communication which was made to him, on the passage, by Mr. Knox- That whilst he (Knox) was confined in Jail at New Orleans, he was desirous of seeing this affiant and had written to him to that effect, but did not send the letter, in consequence of the Jailor's informing him, that if this affiant came, he (the jailor) had orders to detain him in Prison, which orders he believes were given by Gen: Wilkinson or Lieutenant Gaines. This affiant, from the time he went on board, considered himself as a Prisoner, and this opinion was formed from the Deportment of the officers in General, as well as from the following fact which occur'd previous to his leaving New Orleans- Having occasion for some shirts he applied to Lieutenant Hunt for permission to go on shore in order to procure them, but was refused, Lieut. Hunt informing him at the same time, that Gen: Wilkinson had given positive orders, that none of the Passengers (as he called them) should be permitted to go on shore. This affiant was civilly treated on his Passage by Gen: Wilkinson as well as the other officers, but being determined not again to suffer his feelings to be wounded by any refusal of Permission to go on Shore he made no application of the kind after his arrival in Hampton roads, but went on board the Pilot boat prepared to transport this affiant and many others to Richmond. This affiant has also understood from Sergeant Dunbaugh whilst on board the Schooner that *he* considered himself as a Prisoner, and he likewise complained of being very illy treated on the Passage.

Chandler Lindsley

Sworn to in open Court

June 18th, 1807-

Wm Marshall

## XI.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES WILKINSON.<sup>77</sup>

*James Wilkinson* I have felt the most unbounded friendship for Colo. Burr for 20 years had never received any improper propositions from him till the Ciphred Letter by Swartwout<sup>78</sup> in Octr when Colo. Burr went out of the Vice-Presidency I wished him to regain his influence and thought of bringing him into Congress from some of the western States.- I suggested the Idea to him in Washington he came into it and cross<sup>d</sup> the Moun-  
tains in 1805 with that view I suppose I saw him at Massac,<sup>79</sup> then he came from Nashville, he gave flattering accounts of his prospects of his election in Tennessee I recommended to him to establish an influence at N[ew] O[rleans] in case of dis-  
appointment in Tennessee. He descended the River with some Officers who went down to attend a Court Martial at N. O. one of them Capt. Bissell<sup>80</sup> owned a Barge and lent it to him to

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<sup>77</sup> See Testimony in Carpenter III 236-243; 249-250; 261-270; 281-284; 294-296; 360-367; American State Papers miscell. I 469; 472; 558; 559; The Appendix which appears with this testimony in the Gano Papers has been omitted, for it contains Jonathan Dayton's letter of July 16, 1806 as found in Clark's Proofs Note 80 and American State Papers miscell. I Page 559; also Dayton's letter of July 24, 1806, which appears in Clark's Proofs Note 79 and American State Papers miscell. I 558; also an interpretation of Burr's cipher letter of July 29, 1806 as already given in Clark's Proofs Note 81 Pages 60-61; American State Papers—miscell. I 472.

This evidence now printed contains nothing particularly new or startling and many sentences in the text will be found in testimony published heretofore, but the point of view and general idea was considered sufficiently different to justify its publication.

<sup>78</sup> Samuel Swartwout of New York carried Burr's letter of July twenty ninth, 1806 from Philadelphia to Wilkinson at Nachitoches, Orleans territory, where he arrived October eighth. December 26, 1806, Wilkinson swore to an affidavit charging Swartwout, Peter Ogden of New Jersey and a Mr. Alexander of New Orleans with treason, a copy of which reached Jefferson January 23, 1807 and contained what Wilkinson claimed was a correct interpretation of the original cipher.

<sup>79</sup> A fort on the north bank of the Ohio below the mouth of the Cumberland.

<sup>80</sup> Daniel Bissell. See American State Papers miscell. I 577; 584; 590. Bissell commanded Fort Massac when the Burr party passed down December 1806, and he allowed Dunbaugh (see note 72) to go down the river with the expedition.

go from Natches Sargeant Dunbaugh<sup>81</sup> was the Cockswain of the barge, heard nothing more from Burr till his return from N[ew] O[rleans] to St. Louis. I ascribed his visit to some of his relations who resided there others to a favorite *Miss* who was then at that place. Burr frequently remarked on the imbecility of the Government that it would expire of mere debility in the hands of the present executive that the western people were ripe for revolt. I replied he had traveled to little purpose and was greatly deceived that the western people were not only attached but begot to the Government. the conversation dropped. Burr remained six days after this at St. Louis 3 or 4 were employed in traversing the country the evening before his departure he requested a half hours conversation with me, he came to my house he spoke of the decline of my enterprise asked how I could vegetate in such a Damned situation I replied my situation was comfortable I was advanced in years and rest was necessary had purchased some Lands, &c. if I could remain quietly on them two years I would not remove on any account Burr then ask<sup>d</sup> if I would resign my government in his favour in the course of the ensuing winter which I refused. Burr then ask<sup>d</sup> if some grand enterprise leading to fame and fortune would not move me I replied if the Government had designs I would not be found wanting in enterprise or energy, Burr said, certainly under the authority of the Government and added in that *case* will you take the order of the Minister (Mr. Gallatin) I said certainly I receive my orders through the publick Minister. Burr said such an expedition had been thought of but that it was unnecessary to go into details of a project which might never be carried into effect. I had no curiosity to know it and nothing as to time, means, or destination was mentioned

Burr departed next morning with Judge Easton.<sup>82</sup> At Massac at our interview in June before mentioned Burr gave me an open letter of Introduction to Judge Easton it was so mandatory a style that I would not deliver it but sent it to Mr. Jefferson. This Judge Easton said to Major Bruffs<sup>83</sup> that he

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<sup>81</sup> See note 72.

<sup>82</sup> Rufus Easton is mentioned as a possible witness in the Burr trial in Jefferson's Writings volume IX, Page 48. In 1813, he was elected to Congress from Missouri Territory.

<sup>83</sup> Later a bitter opponent of Wilkinson. Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 568; 578; Bacon's Report 205.



knew all Burr schemes, that they made his hair rise on his head, that it was in his power to ruin Burr, that he would communicate them to Bruff under similar injunctions which Bruff refused, this information was lately received by myself from Genl. Samuel Smith<sup>84</sup> and Colo. Read, to whom Bruff has told it. after Burrs departure from St. Louis I Revolved in my mind the subject of Burrs conversation and concluded that he had the authority of Government for conducting some expedition against the Spaniards with the aid of the British but was by no means satisfied, doubts remained and in the fall (1805) wrote to Robert Smith<sup>85</sup> confidentially that Government should put a watchful eye on Burr, that I feared he was about something internal or external I observed from the publick prints that great pains were taken to give the appearance of unusual intimacy between myself and Burr, received a letter on this subject from the secretary of war and replied the 28th Octr (letter read) wishing to find out Burrs object that I might unite in it if proper or detect it if illegal wrote several letters to him that I expected Miranda had taken the bread out of his mouth that I should be ready for the Grand expedition before Burr. I do not recollect if those letters were in Cipher I kept no Copies, my motive in writing them was to endeavor to extract from him the nature and extent of his plans I admit that nothing was so desirable to me as an expedition against the Spaniards in Burrs answer great care taken to excite disgust against the administration I thought nothing more of Burr from the 6th of August 1806 when I left St. Louis until the receipt of the Ciphred letter by Swartwout in October about the 8th Swartwout calld on Colo. Cushing<sup>86</sup> delivered a letter and was introduced to me as a friend of Genl Dayton-<sup>87</sup> Swartwout said that he and

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<sup>84</sup>Samuel Smith of Maryland, a member of Congress from 1798 to 1833, either as Representative or a Senator. See letter of Wilkinson to Smith American State Papers miscell. I 565. Testimony in Wilkinson's favor Bacon's Report 129-133.

<sup>85</sup>Robert Smith, brother of Samuel Smith (Note 84), Secretary of the Navy 1802-1805; Attorney General of United States 1805-1809 (succeeding Caesar Rodney); Secretary of State 1809-1811.

<sup>86</sup>Thomas Humphrey Cushing, Heitman I 348. Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 557.

<sup>87</sup>Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, an intimate friend of Burr; a member of Constitutional Convention 1787; Representative 1791-1799; Senator 1799-1805. (See Note 77).

Mr. Ogden<sup>88</sup> hearing at Fort Adams that the army and Militia were about to march against the Spaniards he wished to become a Volunteer Cushing went out for a few minutes and then Swartwout delivered a sealed packet to me containing a Ciphred Letter from Burr and another from Dayton and also by mistake I suppose a letter to John Peters Nashville- signed A. Stephens I think the hand writing to be Colo. Burrs. (the Letters were all exhibited) I proceeded the next Morning to decipher the Letters, I found that Burr was engaged in an unlawful enterprise I immediately communicated it to Colo Cushing and expressed my determination to oppose it—I felt embarrassed how to proceed- decided to precipitate the affair with the Spaniards and hasten to N[ew] O[rleans] desired Cushing to remember the conversation in case he was calld upon I determined to give information to the President as soon as I could get out of Swartwout Burrs object. I led him to believe that I would not oppose it, if I did not join Burr I discovered from Swart[wout] the intention to revolutionize the N. O. Territory and seize the bank and shipping, that his brother John was coming on to Pittsburgh with 500 men, that 7000 men were already engaged—that Truxton<sup>89</sup> was gone to Jamaica that Decatur<sup>90</sup> was ready to join Swartwout and he wanted money which I gave him, that Kentucky and Ohio were favourable Colo. Swartwout Genl Jackson<sup>91</sup> & Genl Adair<sup>92</sup> [also favored it?] I wrote to the President the 21st October and dispatched

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<sup>88</sup> Peter Ogden of New Jersey a nephew of Jonathan Dayton, arrested by Wilkinson in New Orleans December 14, 1806 with Bollman, and Swartwout. December 16, Judge Workman discharged him; see note 45.

<sup>89</sup> Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 496.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Decatur—the famous commander of the “United States” in the battle with the “Macedonian” October 25, 1812.

<sup>91</sup> Burr spent some time with Andrew Jackson in his tour through the West in 1805 and stayed with him again in 1806. Jackson, believing a war with Spain imminent, issued a proclamation to the Militia of Tennessee October 4, 1806. He was an interested spectator at the trial in Richmond.

<sup>92</sup> John Adair, of Mercer County, Kentucky. While Senator from Kentucky at Washington in 1805, he was interested with Wilkinson, Burr, Dayton, John Brown of Kentucky, John Smith of Ohio, in a project to procure a charter for a canal at the Falls on the Indiana side of the Ohio River. January 14, 1807, he was arrested at Wilkinson's order by a detachment of one hundred and fifty soldiers in New Orleans. He was Governor of Kentucky 1820-24; Representative in Congress 1831-33.



Lt. Smith<sup>93</sup> (letters read) Burrs name not mentioned everything in Gen[erall] terms treasonable designs mentioned mode of defending the river and Town of New Orleans 2000 men call'd for *the letter intended as confidential* I marched against the Spaniards and drove them 30 leagues beyond the sabine and returned to Natchitoches on the 6th Novr Donaldsons<sup>94</sup> communication implicating Colo. Dupestre<sup>95</sup> as an agent of Burrs and received also the duplicate from Colo. Burr under cover from Doctr Bollman also Dayton's second Letter these Letters and Donaldsons communication left no doubt of the desperation of the enterprise under that impression collected my forces for the defence of N[ew] O[rleans] arrived at Natches 11th Novr wrote to Freeman and Potter<sup>96</sup> wrote a confidential letter to Govr Claiborne<sup>97</sup> stating the danger and requesting his aid wrote to Cowles Mead<sup>98</sup> demanding 500 Men which were refused unless the object was avowed 13th Novr wrote a letter to the President on the 12th apprising him of the Danger and wishing permission to put N[ew] O[rleans] under Military Law, *reflecting violently on Govr Mead & Claiborne* this the *Grand Jury were requested to consider as confidential*, as I approached N. Orleans I was greatly perplexed found the inhabitants either concurred or well-wishing to the enterprise I spoke to Evan Jones<sup>99</sup> an old and wealthy inhabitant who advised me to join Burr. I arrived at N. O. on the 25th my arrival excited general attention E. Livingston<sup>100</sup> call'd and offered to introduce Bollman in-

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<sup>93</sup> T. A. Smith. After Swartwout left Natchitoches November 20, 1806, Wilkinson sent Smith to the President with information concerning treason without mentioning any names.

<sup>94</sup> J. L. Donaldson is mentioned in Clark's Proofs Note 83, p. 166.

<sup>95</sup> Colonel Dupestre (De Pestre sometimes Dupeister), a Frenchman then residing in New Jersey, and agent of Burr's who accompanied him from the East on his second journey in 1806.

<sup>96</sup> Major Porter (?)

<sup>97</sup> See Note 53.

<sup>98</sup> See Note 65.

<sup>99</sup> A merchant in New Orleans; see letter of Jones to Daniel Clark—Clark's Proofs, note 6, pp. 21 and 22.

<sup>100</sup> Edward Livingston, of New York, 1801, United States District Attorney for New York; 1803 removed to New Orleans with a cloud on his name for alleged default. He was prominent as a member of the "Mexican Association" in New Orleans. This society had for its purpose the collection of data on Mexico which would be useful for the United States in case of war



quired as to Burrs movements- askd what Burr and I intended to bestow upon him when we got to Mexico I replied to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer which excited a sort of Hysterical Laugh and bowing he departed on the 3rd Day Doctr Watkins<sup>101</sup> calld said he hoped I did not mean to Picket in the Town, said it was useless to fortify it, said if Burr came down not a man would join me that the feeble government deserved it for conniving at Mirandas expedition. This conversation was heard by Doctr Pendergraft<sup>102</sup> and Colo. Schaumburgh<sup>103</sup> Watkins also said that the Militia were but a name that it was sinfull to hold out a different Idea; here follows a recital of communications with Bollman that one thousand men would starve at N[ew] O[rleans] Bollman replied that flour and other provisions were expected from N. York and Norfolk I suggested many Difficulties to which Bollman replied that Colo. Burr and his numerous Friends had gone too far to stop that they must suckseed he indeavored to desern my intentions which was parried as well as possible I told him I wished Burr would keep out of my way and get to sea without coming to N[ew] O[rleans] Bollman became suspicious of me said he was nothing but a speculator was in search of Lands but askd if 7000 men were sufficient to take La Vera Cruz saw Bollman again 5th Decr said he had seen a letter from Burr of the 20th Octr. that he would be at Natches 20th Decr. with 2000 men and remain until he heard from N[ew] O[rleans] that 4000 men would follow I then told him I should oppose Burr Bollman said Burr must come to N. O. for obtaining shiping that he had great dependance upon me that I might feign a defence and

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with Spain; Dr. John Watkins, Mayor of New Orleans in 1805, Judge Workman of the county court were also prominent members. For Burr's connection with the Association, see McCaleb 29; for the Association's enthusiasm for war with Spain, see McCaleb 113. Livingston codified the laws for Louisiana, from 1823 to 29 served as Representative for that State; 1829 to 1831 served a term as Senator; 1831 to 1833 Secretary of State; from 1833 to 1835, Minister to France.

<sup>101</sup> Dr. John Watkins was mayor of the city at the time of Burr's first visit to New Orleans in 1805; January 1807, became Speaker of the House of Representatives for Orleans Territory. In Jefferson's recommendation September 1, 1804, Vol. VIII "Jefferson's Writings," he is mentioned for the Legislative council of the territory. See also Note 100.

<sup>102</sup> A prominent scientist and resident of Mississippi.

<sup>103</sup> Possibly Bartholomew Schaumburgh; see Heitman I 863.

save my honour by appearances. Bollman once more applied to me for my final Determination when I said *GOOD GOD* you must already know it finding Burr so near at hand and determined to lay hold of him if possible employed a Man 4th Decr Silas Dinsmore<sup>104</sup> agent with the Choctaws to seize him was to give him 5000 if he delivered him to the President of the U. S. or any Governor of the original States Daytons Name included also Burrs friends reported that I was preparing to receive and join him I was much embarrassed, call<sup>d</sup> on the Atty (Brown)<sup>105</sup> for advice but previous to this Alexander<sup>106</sup> had proposed to young Nicholsen to accept of a commission under Burr stating he would be the commander in Chief that should a contest take place between Burr and myself the former would certainly suckseed that there was no comparison between there talents and that I could not depend upon my troops that with 1000 men Burr could put down all opposition at N. O. and by that means secure his suckcess against Mexico. Alexander had an address to the Western People advising a seperation of the union this was seen by Sterry Brown said he would prosecute any person I might Designate but ridiculed the whole affair I had also a conversation with Doctr Sam<sup>l</sup> Brown who seem<sup>d</sup> well acquainted with the whole project spoke of the disaffection of the Citizens and Troops advised no stips to be taken, my impressions from this conversation was that both the Browns were concerned with Burr.

Held a conversation with Govr Claiborne the 7 Decr and Judge Hall<sup>107</sup> on the propriety of establishing Military Law. Mentioned in confidence the two Browns as proper persons to be sent off Hall favoured the proposition and said by God he would Issue no writ of Habeas corpus which he thought the Government had a right to suspend- The next day Hall and

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<sup>104</sup> See note 63.

<sup>105</sup> Possibly James Brown. In "Third Annual Report Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi 1903-4," there is a letter to this man from Claiborne, pages 154-155; in Jefferson's recommendations September 1, 1804 (Jefferson's Writings VIII), he is suggested for secretary of Orleans territory.

<sup>106</sup> Alexander was arrested with Ogden, Bollman, Swartwout, in New Orleans as accomplices of Burr; transported with Ogden to Baltimore, later released in Washington, D. C. See McCaleb 218-219.

<sup>107</sup> See note 71.



Mathews<sup>108</sup> agreed that it was not in their power to suspend it about the 13th reports became so very alarming that I consulted Hall & Mathews- told them I suspected them- assigned as a reason that they had indulged the confidential conversation respecting the Browns I offered to depose to all the facts respecting Bollman Mathews was silent- Hall said it would be useless for that Bollman would be Bailed and would keep up his communication with Burr he advised me to use my own discretion I then replied asking whether they would not hang me for what I might do they replied no. I then informed Governor Claiborne that I should seize Bollman which was done 200 Dolls advanced to him and orders given for good accomodations for his Passage- (22d of . . . . . (?) ) I am authorized to say that I have seen in the hands of Mr. Hay the Att'y for the U. S. the written confession of Doctr Bollman to the President of the United States that it is in the hand writing of Bollman that therein he admitted himself to be the agent of Burr and that Burrs intentions were to commit treason by the siezure of N[ew] O[leans] and dismemberment of the union and misdemeanor by an unauthorized expedition agt. Mexico. Mr. Swartwout told me he was authorized by Burr to see me and receive instructions from me. I sent Lt. Peters<sup>109</sup> from Fort Adams to Natches for information as to Burrs movements who brought intelligence that Burr was decending from the mouth of Cumberland river with 6 or 8000 men about 20th Decr Bradford<sup>110</sup> a printer arrived from Kentucky he said Burr would certainly be in N. O. in 10 Days that the people were all in commotion and many would join him. I saw a letter from Mr. White of Kentucky to Burke saying expect a large Military force at N. O. a letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson to Gov<sup>r</sup> Claiborne (12th Novr.)- letters from Dan<sup>l</sup> Russell<sup>111</sup> to Hughes<sup>112</sup> respecting Dunbaugh. I never received any communication from

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<sup>108</sup> Mathews is mentioned in McCaleb 216.

<sup>109</sup> See Note 54.

<sup>110</sup> James M. Bradford, editor of "Orleans Gazette." Testimony Clark's Proofs note 25, pp. 52 and 53.

He was arrested for misprision of treason against the United States in New Orleans in January 1807 with Workman and Kerr (Mississippi Archives 1903-04 p. 69.)

<sup>111</sup> Daniel Bissell, see note 80.

<sup>112</sup> Daniel Hughes, aid-de-camp to Wilkinson.



Genl Adair respecting the enterprise, except by Swartwouts report said he was well with Burr on Adairs arrival at N. O. he said he expected to find the Town in my possession on acct of the King of Spain that I was a Damnd Rascal that the reports were all delusive that the bubble would soon burst, that he left Burr at Nashville with two boats where he could not get hands for them, Comr Shaw<sup>113</sup> met Judge prevost<sup>114</sup> who congratulated him on the arival of Genl Adair was very much at the service of Genl Wilkinson that Burr would be down in two Days and they would see whether they could then have right and justice Mr. Gurley<sup>115</sup> the Atty Genl told me that Workman<sup>116</sup> had sounded him as to the policy of raising a force to oppose me and Govr Claiborne that they had a force and in case of suckcess would elect James Brown Governor, Gurley said my force was 800 bayonets Workman replied it was too perilous I had Rec[eive]d information that Workman an Kerr had attempted to corrupt the army I was informed about the middle of Decr by Lt. Ballard that Com[modore] Truxton had been expected in January. I sent an Express boat [to?] the Governor and Admiral on that Station. Governor denied any knowledge of the affair the Admiral was very laconic and unsatisfactory. If Mr. Bollman ever declares fairly he will say that the Spanish Minister agreed to furnish Burr with 20,000 stands of arms from pensacola Spence<sup>117</sup> told me that Burr said it

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<sup>113</sup> Commodore John Shaw, in command of naval forces in New Orleans. Testimony American State Papers miscell. I 556, 563, 564, 577. See note 61.

<sup>114</sup> Charles Etienne Prevost, recommended September 1, 1804 by Jefferson for Judge of Superior Court of Orleans Territory (Writings VIII) Mentioned in an article from "National Intelligencer" as connected with Edward Livingston, General Wilkinson, Burr and John Brown of Kentucky in a new conspiracy against the peace of the whole Union, see McCaleb 181.

<sup>115</sup> J. W. Gurley, one of Wilkinson's lawyers in New Orleans, attorney general for Orleans Territory. Reference to him Bacon's Report 42-50.

<sup>116</sup> Workman opposed Wilkinson in his designs on Burr for military arrest. He was a member of the Mexican Association, indicted with Kerr (see Note 52). December 16, 1806, he discharged Ogden who had been arrested by Wilkinson with Bollman and Swartwout, December 14. He resigned as county judge when New Orleans was given over to the military control of Wilkinson, January 1807.

<sup>117</sup> Lieutenant Spence. See deposition, Bacon's Report 310. He was arrested by Wilkinson, February 25, 1807, because he had carried messages to Burr in Kentucky.

was too bad to take their arms to cut their own throats with Spence said if the Spaniards were attacked on the sabine I would be shot during the action by my own Men, Spence had his information from Burr.

Ques<sup>n</sup> did you not write in Cipher to Colo Burr about the Middle of May 1806 What was the subject. Ans<sup>r</sup> It is possible I do not recollect it but if I did it had no relation to such a scheme as the present under consideration. Ques. When was that Cipher fixed on between you and Colo. Burr Ans<sup>r</sup> The Huroglyphic cipher was formed in 1794 by Capt Campbell Smith and the other in 99 or 1800 I believe it was adopted between us about the time of his Vice presidential Election. However I have been long in the habit of corresponding in cipher with various persons.

Ques. When was the Cipher with Gen<sup>l</sup> Dayton agreed on Ans. he sent the key with the Cipher Ques. did you ever Issue orders or were orders Issued by the Government to kill Colo. Burr if he could not be otherwise taken Ans. No, such a proposal was made to me by a person but I spurned at it. Gov<sup>r</sup> Claiborne knows the Fact-

## XII.

### DEPOSITION OF SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.

Samuel Swartwout<sup>118</sup>

Left Colo Burr in pha [Philadelphia?] in July with a letter to Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson of Introduction and a Ciphred letter which at the request of Colo. Burr I had put into Cipher and Copied- at Pittsburgh I Rec[eive]d a sealed paper from P. V. Ogden<sup>119</sup> with a message said to be from Colo. Burr to Distroy the ciphred Letter and to deliver the sealed paper in lieu of it- know nothing of the contents of that paper- he delivered it to Wilkinson- Never told Wilkinson that the Banks at N. O. [New Orleans]

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<sup>118</sup> See Note 78. Testimony Carpenter III 406-407; he was arrested by Wilkinson with Bollman and Ogden, December 14, 1806, and sent to Washington within twenty-four hours on board ship. A writ was granted in favor of him by Judge Workman December 15, but Swartwout was already gone. He was released February 28, 1807 in Washington D. C. after opinion delivered by Chief Justice Marshall that the charge of levying war had not been sustained.

<sup>119</sup> See note 88.

were to be seized never knew or heard that there was a Bank at New Orleans till my arrival at Fort Adams<sup>120</sup> I accidentally saw a bill of one of those banks. I never told Wilkinson that the N[ew] O[rleans] Territory was to be revolutionized—I first heard of such a project from Wilkinson—I never heard any thing of the kind from Burr. Wilkinson said the administration was weak and pusillanimous that his army consisted of not more than 350 or 400 men that if he could collect 2000 the Government might whistle for their army that in five or six weeks he would establish himself at St. Fe [Santa Fe] and that the officers were eager for it Wilkinson said that he had been told that Burr intended to separte the Union—that he wished it were so, that he should like to be in his empire I replied that I knew nothing of it I had never heard Burr say any such thing I first saw Wilkinson the 4th Oct<sup>r</sup> and left the 12th--- I have heard Colo. Burr say that in case of a Spanish War he should attempt something against the Spanish colonies invited me to join which I liked much.

Colo. Burr never offered me any appointment or commission. This about an expedition against the Spanish colonies was not mentioned as a secret or in confidence I understood that the principal business with which I was charged for Colo. Burr was to see how the war went on and to send intelligence. before leaving Pha[Philadelphia] I heard Colo. Burr speak of his Land speculation<sup>121</sup> and his intention to carry settlers to Washita if there should be no war he invited me to go there and plant Cotton with him have also heard my brother John speak of the same Land speculation with approbation, never understood that there was to be any military enterprise unless there should be war never heard Colo. Burr speak of Com[modore] Truxton<sup>122</sup> or of Mr. Alston<sup>123</sup> as being concerned with him neither of their names were mentioned in the Letter which I ciphered and copied I was arrested on the 12th of Dec<sup>r</sup> being then on Board a boat about 100 miles above N[ew] O[rleans] the arrest was by order of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson- no process.

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<sup>120</sup> On east bank of Mississippi, just above thirty-first parallel.

<sup>121</sup> See note 25.

<sup>122</sup> See note 89.

<sup>123</sup> Joseph Alston, of South Carolina, Burr's son-in-law, afterwards governor of his state.



### XIII.

Statement of Facts

By Timothy Kibbey,<sup>124</sup> July 6, 1807.

Sometime in the month of July 1805, I was introduced to Genl James Wilkinson at St. Charles<sup>125</sup> and after some conversation in which he observed, I had been recommended to him by my friend at Cincinnati he asked me to walk with him as he wanted some *private conversation* after inquiring very particularly into my pecuniary circumstances he observed that he should be happy in a further acquaintance, that the present, however, was not a proper time for him to communicate what he intended to do *hereafter* and wished me to call on him at St. Louis as soon as I could make it convenient. At the time Colo Burr was in this country I think in the month of August of the same year I calld on Genl Wilkinson at Camp Bellfountain<sup>126</sup> he remarked that he was extremely glad that I had come as it had saved him the trouble of sending for me and that he wished to communicate to me a matter of a *very secret nature*. That Colo Burr had gone to St. Charles and expected to return to St. Louis the same evening and to leave this country the next morning and that he wished to know my *mind* before Colo Burr left St. Louis. The General began by enquiring into the minds and dispositions of the people in the district of St. Charles, and asked wether they were pleased with the change of Government and wether I did not think that the greater part of them would prefer a Government separte from the Government of the United States he said as the greater number had left the U. S. and removed to this where it was under the spanish government it convinced him they were not pleased *with their own* He observed that in a little time it would be in his power to place me in *affluent circumstances*, which he was determined to do and that he should do the same by Mr. Peter Provenshore; he appeared very desirous that I should become acquainted with Colo. Burr as he said the Colo. was one of the most *enterprising men* in the United States the above conversation took place on our way from the camp to St. Louis; at the request of the Genl.

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<sup>124</sup> A former resident of Cincinnati. This deposition was published in "The Western Spy" September 21, 1807.

<sup>125</sup> Fort St. Charles was founded at St. Louis 1803.

<sup>126</sup> Camp Bellefontaine was founded in 1806, on south side of the Missouri a few miles above its mouth, and abandoned the following year.

I remained at St. Louis for several days and he continued apparently very desirous to *communicate something to me* however I returned home without his disclosing the *secret* to me at that time and under a promise to call on him again in a short time; in the month of October I believe I accordingly call'd again on the Gen[eral] when similar conversation to the one before related took place, except that Colo. Burrs name was not mentioned; he observed that we should have enough to do before long; for in the course of eighteen months there would be an attack made upon the spanish Dominions in Mexico and asked me if I would have any objections against joining myself provided I could have a handsome command, that he himself should take command of the expedition that was [to be?]; to make the attack personally and wished to know of me how many men could be raised in the district of St. Charles to accompany this expedition. I understood from the Genl that the spaniards were about to declare [war] against the United States and that the object of the United States was to attack the province of *Mexico* and *Peru* always assuring me that an expedition against the provinces of Spain was fitting out and that he intended to take the command of it himself; at the time he requested to know if I would join I replied that I was ready and willing to obey the calls of my country and to march to any place provided I was convinced it was for the honor and interest of the United States various conversations of the same kind were had between the Genl and myself at different times afterwards but the substance is the same as before stated. I received a letter from Genl. Wilkinson dated the second of January 1806 requesting me to come immediately to St. Louis on particular business this request I did not comply with, another dated the 26th of Feby. 1806 requesting me to be particular in selecting suitable characters for officers as our present situation would require men of *bravery* and such as would turn out at a word and follow his commander wherever they might lead; and if we had such men as would not answer this description it would be well to get rid of them as soon as it could be done without offence; I also had a conversation with Genl. Wilkinson concerning Lt. Pikes Expedition<sup>127</sup> to the westward which was nearly as follows a

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<sup>127</sup> In Preface vol. I Page III of (Coves) Edition of "The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike." Pike denies that his last voyage was undertaken through sinister designs of General Wilkinson.

few days previous to the departure of Lt. Pike I askd the Genl what was the object of the expedition and where Mr. Pike was going, he smiled and said it was of a *secret nature* but if I would give him my word and honour to keep it a secret he would give me some information on the subject which he had done only to one person in the Territory I assented to the proposition and the Genl. observed that Lt. Pike was yet ignorant of the nature of his journey that his object that his rout would be by Land from the Osage Towns in order to treat with several Nations of Indians by which he would pass I askd the Genl. if Mr. Pike was sent by the Government of the United States he replied *no* that it was his own (the Genls Plan) and if Mr. Pike suckseeded he the Genl. would be placed out of the reach of his enemies and that in the course of eighteen months he would be in a situation (if the plan suckseeded) to call his Damnd foes to an  $\frac{9}{10}$  [account] for their Deeds. I asked the Genl. if he did not apprehend danger from the Spaniards, knowing their jealous disposition, on Mr. Pikes account with a party of American Soldiers at Santa fee. he answered that Mr. Pike and his party would have documents to show which would make them as safe as at Philadelphia.<sup>128</sup> at the time I told Genl. Wilkinson I was ready to march to any place provided it was for the honour and benefit of my country I also observed that I was attached to the American Government at this he appeared somewhat surprised and from that time he appeared to be more reserved in his conversation and less desirous of seeing me.

Timothy Kibbey

Sworn to the 6th of July 1807 before Otho Shrader<sup>129</sup> one of the ..... [torn off.] of the .....

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<sup>128</sup> The passage beginning "I had also a conversation with General Wilkinson" and ending "Mr. Pike and his party would have documents to shew which would make them as safe as at Philadelphia" has already been published in the American Historical Review, volume XIII p. 802 in an article by Herbert E. Bolton "Papers of Zebulon M. Pike."

<sup>129</sup> He succeeded Meigs as Judge of Upper Louisiana 1806.



## XIV.

### AFFADAVIT OF DAVID C. WALLACE.

David C. Wallace,<sup>130</sup> I first saw Colo. Burr at Marietta in May 1805 introduced him to Blennerhassett Burr passed several weeks at Marietta he spoke of the hardships of the western people who paid such large sums to be spent in the eastern States. He was fond of that Topick. Blennerhassett informed me of the intended expedition down the river, wished me to engage said I should be Surgeon Gen<sup>l</sup> but said he was not at liberty to unfold the object he said he expected 500 men to go from the neighbourhood of Marietta I told him that 300 men on the Ohio could stop them Blennerhassett said in that case they would Land and fire the houses and towns and in that way draw off the attention of the people I understood the plan to be to seporate the union and to take Mexico Blen[nerhassett] frequently alluded to his plan in conversation requested me to put up a large quantity of medicines addopted to a Military expedition Blen[nerhassett] said he would resist any attempts to stop his boats in the Muskingum Colo. Burr seemed rather to approve of the querist<sup>131</sup> which went to dismember the union--

## XV.

### TESTIMONY OF ELIAS GLOVER.

Elias Glover<sup>132</sup> witness &c Blen[nerhassett] he never saw untill he saw him at Rich[mon]d in Sep<sup>r</sup> 1806, he saw Colo Burr at Cincinnati and was introduced to him by Judge McFarland<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Testimony Carpenter III 223-225; American State Papers miscell. I 535; 577.

<sup>131</sup> "The Querist," signature used on articles published in the "Ohio Gazette" of Marietta supposed to have been written by Blennerhassett at Burr's suggestion, urging a separation of the East and West.

<sup>132</sup> Elias Glover of Cincinnati, chief witness against John Smith in his trial in the Senate for expulsion on account of his association with Aaron Burr.

<sup>133</sup> Judge William McFarland, 1806-07, Ohio Senator from Hamilton County; 1803-1816, Treasurer of the State.

who said that he had spent an evening with him at Jno Smiths<sup>134</sup> and had invited him to spend an evening with him and as there would be but few he wished him, Glover, to spend the evening with them which he did and Burr observd that the Western was similar to the Eastern States before the Amkn [sic] Revolution and he thought his observations was such as to create a dissatisfaction with the people, that he wishd he Mr. Glover would Travel with him which he declined and he made no mention of his Expedition or interprise he never corresponded with him, and he Burr mentiond that some of the leading or influential Characters in the United States was Disatisfied with the Government- and mentioned J. Dayton and Blen[nerhassett] he learnt from John Smith the nature of the Exp<sup>dn</sup> more than any other person McFarland and Glo[ver] took a walk in the evening and calld on Jno. Smith who informed him Burr had left Town that Day and he expected he would not be back again that Burr was going to Revolut[ion]ize Mexico &c and that he wanted young men of interprise in case of war with Spain they would march into the Mexican Provinces he conversed considerably with Smith. Smith observed Burrs Great object was Mexico and that he would go there at all events Judge Mc Farland was Present the whole time- Smith went into a Description of the Mexican Country climate soil &c he mentioned that means had been taken to Revolu[tionize] that Country the Clergy<sup>135</sup> Particularly who in a great Measure governed the People was engaged- ment[tione]d the maner in which the Sp[aniar]ds conveyd their coin from St A fee to Vera Cruse that there were a number of young men from different parts would Decend the river and join Burr in the Exp[editio]n

Smith said that he had inq[ui]r<sup>d</sup> of Burr if he did not apprehend Danger from the force on the River- Ft. Adams was ment[ione]d- Burr observed that he would resist if they Mo-

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<sup>134</sup> John Smith, Senator from Ohio 1803-1808; had been concerned with Wilkinson, Burr, John Brown of Kentucky, and Adair in Ohio canal project (see note 92). Burr stayed with him while in Cincinnati in his tours of the West 1805 and 1806. He was arrested in New Orleans early in 1807 by Wilkinson and sent to Richmond. A committee was appointed in the Senate, John Quincy Adams chairman, which recommended his expulsion, and the report lacked one vote of passing in April, 1808. Smith then resigned and later moved to West Florida where he had previously speculated in land.

<sup>135</sup> For the attitude of the clergy against Spanish rule in Mexico, see McCaleb 90, 114 and 115.

lested him if they did not he would not molest them, he also said Burr would be assisted by the British Navy and he thinks the American Navy or a part was also mentioned- he further said that Alston was engaged and had built a frigate which would sail to join the party in the Gulph of Mexico, that his Smiths two sons was to Decend the River in his own Boats and would join Colo Burr at N[ew] Orl[ean]s or some place on the River who was to provide well for them and express<sup>d</sup> a wish that he should go down with them that the prospect was flattering & he thought he would make a fortune and stand high in a political point of view and wished him to take what men with him he could- and Smith Regreted he could not go himself as he thought the Exp[editio]n promised much that he should probably go with his family and shortly settle in the Neighb[or-]hoo[d] of Colo Burr that he had abandoned the Building of a Brick house in consequence he observed. Colo Burr wanted the Gun boats Smith was Building, he ans[were]d as he was Building them for U. S. he could not and Burr obs[erve]d he was right as it would be improper for him to be guilty of Breach of Trust &c, but that if Gov[ernmen]t did not settle his acc[ount] he would be short with them as he knew how to Dispose of them that he would not press them upon them he observ<sup>d</sup> Burr was anxious to see Major E. Kibbey<sup>136</sup> as he thought he would assist him. Smith observed he thought Burrs was an hon[orab]le Exp<sup>dn</sup> Burr had been Ill Treated and had been persued by the Gov[ernmen]t and his object was Hon[orable] and if he could would join him Judge McFarland was present- that he conversed with him after leaving Smiths they concluded to communicate it to Judge Nimmo<sup>137</sup> which he Glover Did and made an affidavit which Nimmo forwarded to the President 2 Feby-

Smith Ment[ione]d the name of Stewart<sup>138</sup> as being eng[age]d that Stew[ar]t and him met at Pitmans<sup>139</sup> and there Glov<sup>r</sup> spoke fav[orab]ly of the Exp[editio]n to Stew[ar]t that in case of peace he would settle the Wic[hat]a Lands<sup>140</sup> and he would make a

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<sup>136</sup> Ephraim Kibby, 1803-1804 member of Ohio House of Representatives from Hamilton County; a captain in Wayne's army.

<sup>137</sup> Mathew Nimmo—Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Hamilton County 1805 to 1808.

<sup>138</sup> Stewart—Possibly Pallas P. Stewart; see note 154.

<sup>139</sup> Pitman's Tavern—a well known inn at Cincinnati in the early days.

<sup>140</sup> See note 25.



good Neighbor Burr wrote to Smith which letter Smith showed to Glover, came in the afternoon- that Judge McFarland said he was apprehensive that from information that the Expedition of Burr was hostile- Quest.- Did you ever write and publish any thing against the Measures taken by Government in opposition [sic] to Burr and his part- Answer, No I never have.<sup>141</sup>

## XVI.

### UNSIGNED DEPOSITION (PROBABLY GLOVER'S).<sup>142</sup>

I know little of Mr. Burr or Blennerhassett was introduced to A Burr at Cincinnati by Mr. McFarland-- Col Burr at John Smiths spoke contemptuously of Government, said he liked to hear the division of the states talked of, but wished his name kept out of view, talked of the advantages of the western over the eastern states- John Smith told me that Burrs intentions were to join the army of the U. S. with a corps of volunteers in case of a war-- Smith said afterwards Burrs object was Mexico at all events- That he had gone so far in the scheme that he could not give it up- that Smith was building gun-boats for the Government, if they did not receive them and pay his accounts which he thought they would not he intended that Burr should have them. Smith also said in case of resistance at Fort Adam Burr would land and demolish the Fort- Smith said his sons were going to New Orleans where they would join Burr who had promised to provide well for them, that Dayton was equally concerned & was expected daily at that place- After Burr had visited Cincinnati the second time which was in November Smith told me that he (A Burr) was collecting men from all parts of the union, that he would be assisted as well by the British Navy as the American Navy

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<sup>141</sup> The defense in the Smith Trial in the Senate, tried to show that Glover's testimony against the defendant was not to be relied upon because he had been friendly to Burr, had promised to join his expedition and had published an article in a Cincinnati newspaper in Burr's defense, and that he had only turned against him when he found what the general attitude of the country and the administration was, hoping by his change of front to gain favor with those in power. The same point is brought up here.

<sup>142</sup> The circumstances of introduction to Burr by Judge McFarland are similar to those given in the previous deposition; therefore, it may be assigned to Glover with some degree of safety.

## XVII.

### DEPOSITION OF COLONEL J. BARKER.

Colo. J. Barker<sup>143</sup> was applied to by D. Woodbridge<sup>144</sup> to build 15 Boats agreeable to a certain Moddle he eng[age]d to build 10 and afterwards 5 this was in Sep<sup>r</sup> 1806 on the 20th Nov<sup>r</sup> Blan[nerhassett] call<sup>d</sup> on him and informed him the Boats was for Burr and himself that they had made a purchase of Lands in the Outichaw Country<sup>145</sup> and hurried the finishing the boat and Directed one to be fitted for his family and Colo. Burrs said the boats would carry about 50 men and their Baggage<sup>146</sup> that there object was partly agricultural and partly commercial and ultimately other objects he launched the boats 11 in number Blan[nerhassett] wanted the boats Launched at night tho they Launched them sunday Morning and Del[ivered] thim on Blan[nerhassetts] order about the 10th Dec<sup>r</sup> to Capt. Elliot<sup>147</sup> there is 4 boats remaining where they was built, in the spring before Gen<sup>l</sup> Tupper ask<sup>d</sup> him if he would take a Colo. Command and go Down the river in case of war with Spain that Colo. Burr was to have the Command he understood it was sanctioned by Government and show<sup>d</sup> him two Military Books of French Discipline which he said was forwarded by Burr and ask<sup>d</sup> if he would not introduce some of the Manouvers in his Regiment--

Blan[nerhassett] observed they had no hostile intentions against the United States or any Government but show<sup>d</sup> him a Paper which he call<sup>d</sup> an association or articles to regulate their Government in going Down untill they met with Burr who was then to take the Command of the whole and untill then Blan[nerhassett] was to Command that he tried to engage some men that work<sup>ed</sup> for Barker, 4 did engage and he was to furnish them with arms and if he had not arms enough for the whole he would

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<sup>143</sup> See note 39.

<sup>144</sup> See note 34.

<sup>145</sup> See note 25.

<sup>146</sup> In another affidavit in the Gano Papers III Page 35, Barker gives a description of the boats thus: "the boats would carry about 50 men and their baggage; five was 50 feet long and 12 feet wide, that one of the boats was to be fitted up for his family and Colo. Burr's."

<sup>147</sup> Commander of one of the boats on the expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi.

purchase for them said they would have a long distance to travel by land that he would put in his hunting shirt and take his riddle on his shoulder and go with them this was addressed to the men engaged (but did not go with him) in Barkers hearing Blan[nerhassett] said there was a great number some thousands going with them that they was to be joined from all quarters- he rode with Blan[nerhassett] to Duvalls <sup>148</sup> on the rode he wished Barker to recommend him to young men to join him and for each Person engaged by him he would pay him 3 Dolls. as he wished to engage as many as possible to make his family appear respectable where he was going.

### XVIII.

#### DEPOSITION OF JOHN S. GANO,<sup>149</sup> SEPTEMBER 5, 1807.

I have seen Colo Burr in Cincinnati several times since the year 1805 tho never spoke to him but once while there, and then he cald at my House in company with Mr. John Smith, there was several Ladies and Gentlemen in the room when he entered and during his stay, which was about half an hour. he passed some General observations, saying This was a fine Country, but I assure you there never was one word spoke or wrote to me directly or indirectly on the subject of his Expedition or Business in that Country, neither had I any Communication with any person conserved to my knowledge. In Decr 1806 I Recd orders from Gover Tiffin<sup>150</sup> to call out 120 Militia and station them at

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<sup>148</sup> Devols were a prominent family of Belpre.

<sup>149</sup> John Stites Gano, son of the John Gano, chaplain in the Army of the Revolution, was the first clerk of the Common Pleas Court of Hamilton County, Ohio. He was a pioneer of Cincinnati and one of the founders of Covington, Ky. He was also the general commanding the militia of the southern district of Ohio. He was born in New York in 1766 and died in Covington, Ky., in 1822. This deposition though unsigned is Gano's, for in its text it mentions a committee of which Nimmo and Findlay were members, Gano being the third appointed by Tiffin.

<sup>150</sup> Edward Tiffin, 1803-1807, Governor of Ohio; 1807-1809, Senator from Ohio. He had been Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Territorial government before this time. Jefferson highly commended him for his prompt and efficient work in destroying the hopes for the expedition down the river; under his orders, the militia seized the flotilla in the Muskingum December 9, 1806, and detachments of the militia were stationed along the banks of the Ohio ready to intercept the "fleet" as it came down.



Different points on the Ohio river, so as to bring too [sic] and Examine all Boats descending and to give notice to the Gov<sup>rs</sup> Commission<sup>d</sup> agent, if any appeared armed and Equipp<sup>d</sup> in a hostile Manner, that a warrant might Issue to Justify a Seazure & detention. I ordered the Command Immediately & paid particular attention myself to Issuing all orders visiting the posts &c and amongst a Number of Boats that I Examined Mrs. Blannahazett was on board of one which was particularly Examined by Judge Nimmo,<sup>151</sup> the Gov<sup>r</sup> Confidential agent, who Reported to me there was nothing on Board Sufficient to Justify a detention and Judge Nimmo gave a passport accordingly. I must observe, that on Receiving the Governors orders Gen<sup>l</sup> Findlay,<sup>152</sup> Judge Nimmo & myself Call<sup>d</sup> on Mr. John Smith to know if he would furnish provision for the troops I had ordered out, which readily consented to and observed if he Could be of any service in procuring quarters, arms ammunitions or could render any assistance, he would cheerfully do it, we observed we were very happy to find him so patriotic, he answered he would do every thing in his power for the service of his Country, we then inquired if he was acquainted with Burrs designs & misterious movements in the Western Country he said he had Indeavour<sup>d</sup> to find out Could not further than they were Honourable and would be approv<sup>d</sup> by the united states, that he was going to settle his Washita Lands & would if a war should take place between Spain & the united States be ready to imbark in it and that many who were now his Enemies would then be glad to call him their friend.

I also was present when John & Abram D. Smith<sup>153</sup> were sworn by Judge Nimmo to answer Interogatories on thet subject, the Judge also requested me to put such questions as I thought proper which I did and from the answers it appeared he was in no way concern<sup>d</sup> with Burr.

his Books was Examined as to Shipment of provision as it was the opponion he had furnished a quantity to burr, he so-

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<sup>151</sup> See note 137.

<sup>152</sup> James Findlay, Mayor of Cincinnati 1810-1811; Representative in Congress 1825-1833. See Quarterly of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio IV.

<sup>153</sup> John and Ambrose D. Smith, sons of John Smith; see deposition of A. D. Smith, "Western Spy," February 9, 1807.

lisited an Investigation & Judge Nimmo & all present Expressed themselves to be fully Satisfied that the Charge was unfounded from vouchers in Smiths possession the foregoing Contains a Statement of all I know of Either Burr or Smith as to the Charges now illeged against them by Government. I do assure you if I knew any design against the Government I would most cheerfully oppose & Expose it.

Sworn to before the Mayor of the City the 5th Sepr, 1807.

## XIX.

### TESTIMONY OF PALLAS P. STEWART.

Pallas P. Stewart<sup>154</sup>

Decr 1806 he met with Colo. Burr at Frankford who made some Mention of an Enterprise &c and said he would shortly be at Cincinnati and would then communicate with him which he did said he wished him to join the other said he wished to know more about it he said that in case of a Declaration of war with Spain he would get the earliest information and would be ready with a force and would establish an independant govern[men]t in New Spain and that independent of the United States he offered to Buy his boats and barge which he Refused &c he wished him to raise men to join, said they would revolutionize the Spanish Government. independant of any govern[men]t &c. that he Requested him to speak to E. Kibbey which he did but Kibbey did not engage and was to wait untill P. P. Stewart wrote him from Natches or N[ew] Orleans that Elias Glover informed him he was going to join Colo Burr and others below the falls and was going with them that he said Burr informed him that Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson understood him perfectly and that nothing was to be apprehended from the army.

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<sup>154</sup> See Quarterly IV 121.

## XX.

DEPOSITION OF JACOB DUNBAUGH.<sup>155</sup>

The boats then proceeded to Bayou Pierre I went to Judge Bruins<sup>156</sup> with Colo. Burr where he saw a Newspaper-told me that Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson had been treacherous to him and had published a letter which he had written him in cipher Judge Bruin sent word to Colo. Burr that the Militia was about to take him Colo. Burr had a parade ground prepared where the men were paraded and exercised had 12 Centinals placed said he would take Batten Rogue until his forces were collected he however changed his course and sunk his guns in the river. Colo. Burr James Pryor Tyler and Willie tied the guns together to sink them there- there were about forty Musquets sunk. Qu[estio]n. Were you not a deserter Ans. Colo. Burr promised me to fix that with Capt. Bissell, I exceeded my furlough, I was considered a Deserter Ques. Have you been tried by a Court Martial Ans. No, but Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson promised that if I would return to my Duty I should not be punished Ques. Does not your pardon depend on your giving evidence against Colo. Burr, Ans. I have the Gen<sup>ls</sup> word that I shall be pardoned Ques. then you do not consider yourself as pardoned completely Ans. I depend on the Gen<sup>ls</sup> word since being in Richmond Mr. Willie asked me to call and see Colo. Burr but he gave no reason for it.

## XXI.

## TESTIMONY TAKEN JANUARY 16, 1808.

Jany 16th 1808. . . . .

R. J. Meggs, Junr.<sup>157</sup> in fall 1805 he Ret[urne]d from upper L[ouisian]a he saw Burr who suggested it was not right that the Eastern States should draw so much money from the West for

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<sup>155</sup> See note 72. The first part of this deposition is not printed herewith because it is similar to testimony of Dunbaugh's already published. The questions were considered of importance, for the defense of Burr had attempted to establish that Wilkinson did not prosecute Dunbaugh as a deserter in return for his promise that he would testify against Burr.

<sup>156</sup> Peter Bryan Bruin, presiding Judge with Rodney in Burr trial at Washington, Mississippi Territory. For complaint of Legislature of the Territory against him, see American State Papers miscell. I 921.

<sup>157</sup> See note 17.



lands &c- that if he was in Congress he would obtain better Justice- he would make them tremble in 1806 he saw him again who enq[uire]d if Wilkinson was at Red River he said from enq[uir]y of Gallatin he must be there with [sentence not finished.]

Conversed with Tupper who said he would not obey any order to stop the Boats after that Tupper Dec[lare]d he knew more of the project than he did he said Blan[nerhassett] had urged him to join in the Project and told him he should have as high a Rank as he then held &c Blan[nerhassett] was to take a Command Tupper told him he would not embark in any such interprise Tupper was on the Island when they left there that there was about 30 armed with guns Elliot & Dean<sup>158</sup> took a small Boat and shovd off when they were informed of the Law by Colo Meggs who Issued a warrant to take the Boats and prov[isio]n.

\* \* \* \* \*

Genl Buel<sup>159</sup> knowing but little except taking the 9 or 10 Boats and Provision- 130 Blls meal and 60 Blls meat. Colo Meggs heard from Burr and observed a seperation must take place.

\* \* \* \* \*

William Corry<sup>160</sup> as to Burr or Blan[nerhassett]- he knew nothing of either he saw a person at Conn Tavern calld by some Burrs waiter by others his clerk there was a conversation at Table about Burr and his interprise E. Glover said by God he wished Burr suckcess that he had been persecuted by the Governm[en]t the conjecture was the interprise was against Mexico Dugan & Affaral Pro. . . . [?] fall of 1806 he has also observed Glover in conversation with Burrs man at Conns.

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<sup>158</sup> These men were captains of boats in the expedition down the Ohio and Mississippi.

<sup>159</sup> See note 20.

<sup>160</sup> William Corry, 1807, member of Ohio House from Butler County; 1812; 1819; 1856-57, member of Ohio House from Hamilton County; 1815-1819, Mayor of Cincinnati. See Greve "Centennial History of Cincinnati" I 440.

Jacob Burnet<sup>161</sup> has no knowledge of any acts or Designs anP has had no communication with him he knew Blan[nerhassett] but heard nothing from him- and he heard John Smith say that he rec[eive]d a penciled note from Burr that it had been brought by a ser[van]t of Burrs request[ing] quarters with him if not conv[enien]t to Recom[men]d him to them. Mr. Jno. Smith informed him that Burr s[ai]d his object was to settle lands, and settel his friends around him that after Burr left there for Lex[ingto]n he wrote to Burr by a person who was going there a Letter requesting Burr to write and inform him his object as he was implicated by same, Burr Did answer that his Views was not hostile to the Gover[nmen]t his object was to settle his lands and wanted him to let his sons go with him and he would do well by them he answered evasively not objectively he heard Glover speak of the subject and very favourably of Burr and he thought him the Greatest and most persecuted man in the United States- at Pitmans Glover was Present when the State Law was thought not Constitutional that when they left the house Glover said he had wrote and published a peace in Liberty Hall<sup>162</sup> against the Law and would write again &c and ridiculing the Idea of the Militia stoping Burr or his party that he understood A. D. Smith gave notice to Blan[nerhassett] against the knowledge of his Father that a person who escorted Smith up informed him that one Nichols told him at Natches that he was at Cincinn[ati] and belonged to Burrs Exp[editio]n and Glover call<sup>d</sup> on him and told him he belonged to Burrs party and would shortly join Burrs party with 60 or 160 men that Smith told him that if warr took Place Burr would be in readiness to Volunteer his services.

\* \* \* \* \*

Glover came in again and said the Militia remained all night at Disbrows Drinking- and he wrote the piece against it, but never wrote the one ment[ione]d by Burnet and he never sent an express &c and no conversation with Willey at Conns.

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<sup>161</sup> Jacob Burnet, an intimate acquaintance of Burr during the Revolution; 1814-15, member of Ohio House from Hamilton County; 1821-1828, Judge of Ohio Supreme Court; 1829-1831, Senator from Ohio.

<sup>162</sup> A Cincinnati newspaper founded in 1804.

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The Letters forming the substance of this number are selected from the "Follett Collection" of manuscripts in the possession of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and were written by the Honorable Thomas Corwin, with three exceptions (by Oran Follett), during the years 1842 to 1851. The material part of them relates to the Whigs and exhibits throughout his ardent partisanship to that political party. They are carelessly written, failing to exhibit any particular literary merit, and it is evident they were to the writer merely a means of conveying to a personal friend his views upon the current political events of that period and of the men participating therein. Mr. Josiah Morrow, editor of the "Life and Speeches of Thomas Morrow," comments upon Corwin's great distaste for letter-writing, stating that "he did not excel as a letterwriter," though he adds that "his official papers show a felicitous style." Very few of his private letters appear to have been published. The group produced here were addressed to Oran Follett, then of Sandusky, Ohio, who during the political campaigns of 1840, 1844 and 1854, took a leading and active part as editor of the Ohio State Journal published at Columbus, and in the last mentioned year became one of the proprietors of that newspaper. He had been very active in the local politics of his native State, New York, previous to his removal to Ohio, and had been for many years proprietor and editor of the Buffalo "Daily Journal." A somewhat lengthy account of Oran Follett may be found in Vol. V, No. 2, of this Publication.

Thomas Corwin was born in Bourbon County, Ky., July 29, 1794, and when four years of age came with his parents to Warren County, Ohio, where they settled upon a farm near Lebanon. In 1818 he was admitted to the bar; 1821, 1822 and 1829 he was a member of the State Legislature; Member of Congress, 1831-40; Governor of Ohio, 1841-2; U. S. Senator, 1845-50; Secretary of the Treasury, July 1850-Mar. 1853; M. C. 1859-61; and appointed Minister to Mexico, 1861. He died in Washington, D. C., December 18, 1865.

L. Belle Hamlin.

I.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 31st Oct. 1842

Dear Sir

I rec[ei]ve[d] yours of the 26th ult. last evening. I have pondered upon its contents, not now for the first time but frequently and felt all the difficulties of our position so sorely that I have not ventured to suggest them to others. When I saw and conversed with you for half an hour at Columbus, I observed a certain despondency in your views, which made me unwilling to renew the subject. I am rejoiced to learn that I was then mistaken. I left Columbus resolved to see what another week would bring forth and from such lights as that time might furnish endeavor to discover the path of duty for myself. I now see no hope of success, except, through efforts and sacrifices of a desperate character to be made by comparatively very few. To secure the right sort of talent at Columbus requires pecuniary aid beyond what any mere increase of circulation of the Journal will give. Where is this to come from? I cannot answer this question. I doubt very much whether any thing can be done in Kentucky. Our friends there are not accustomed to such things and therefore do not see their propriety. If they did, from their zeal and generosity I should hope for something handsome.

My thoughts on this subject have brought me to this conclusion, 1st You should become a part owner of the Journal' and one of its principal editors. This would give a fixed character to the paper, and your contributions would make it so valuable as to increase its circulation greatly everywhere. 2dly To bring about this a sum of money should be raised in Ohio (if possible) by those who are resolved to make one more effort, which should indemnify you for the labor and time expected for the first two years at least, leaving the ultimate loss or gain in the adventure to be adjusted by your own sagacity or fortune; If successful in our common enterprise, the paper would undoubtedly be

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<sup>1</sup> Ohio State Journal.



valuable. If otherwise it would be only such an establishment as a Whig minority could afford to make it, Of all these, you, from your experience in such matters, are undoubtedly a better Judge than I can be. I see no such possibility of bringing such an arrangement about until the Meeting of the Circuit Court, Court in Bank and Legislature. Meantime, if you have any plans, notions or conceptions touching this matter, let me know them with your opinions of them. Have you ever thought of an interest in the Journal? If so in what way and to what extent have you proposed to yourself to go into the business?

I have been very strongly tempted to withdraw myself (if possible) entirely from all connexion with politics, from a conviction derived from this years experience, that any labor of mine is only a personal sacrifice, without any good result and possibly tending only to do harm. I feel all the time as if the election in Ohio, had been lost because my name was so prominently connected with it. I am sure there is a majority of Whigs in this State, against Loco focoism, abolitionism and Tylerism all combined. The reason that presses upon me from this view of our late defeat is that there did exist a secret aversion to me, which has showed itself in the election. This opinion induces me to *follow* in any plan proposed for future action. Never- never will I take counsel of any one again (at least so far as to over rule my own opinions) as to the position I am to occupy. At present I am a dead cock in the pit, all I can now do is to wish well to the labor of others who are not crippled with the shots to which I have been exposed.

Let me hear from you, on receipt of this.

Truly yr friend

Tho Corwin.

## II.

ORAN FOLLETT TO THOMAS CORWIN.

Sandusky Nov. 4, 1842.

My Dr Sir

How little we know of ourselves, and what bad judges we are of our own actions, is strongly illustrated by your letter of the 31st ultimo. I came round by Columbus for the very purpose of inspiriting our friends, and taking counsel for the future- not of our *fears*, but of our *hopes*, being myself no way dis-

heartened, only as I saw the hopes and feelings of my friends crushed and trodden down by brute force. Yet you saw despondency in my views! Never did I feel less like turning my back on the enemy. We are in the right- the *real* people *are* with us- we can and must triumph.

But, how? This is the great question. And will you bear with me one moment while I tell you how we *cannot* triumph in this State? We cannot triumph with a State B[an]k and Branches for one thing. Your self-love must not take the alarm at this; you have only to satisfy yourself where the Banking influence was in the last election, and you will agree with me. I *know* it was mainly against us, and you will at once see the reason why. Now, if this was the only safe and practicable mode of settling the currency question, then I would go for it, though defeat might ensue at first, trusting to time to vindicate my judgment. But it is not. My views you understand something of, but I am not wedded to *them*. Then why should you or the whig party sacrifice themselves for an interest which is arrayed against us? Why not raise up a new one? I thought I foresaw the present state of this question in 1840- and proposed to Mr. Kelly that a free consultation should be had on it, before the whig party in Ohio should commit itself; But, no-“the Bourbons must be restored”, and here we are like them, ruler and followers, deprived of our right and robbed of our inheritance.

I could go on, chapter after chapter, touching small matters, but important in the aggregate. And who is to blame? Not you- or me- individually—and so on. But, in truth, *we are all to blame alike*. I mean such of us as seek a reward for our exertions for advancing the general welfare, taking our portions with our fellows according to merit, having no *patent* pretensions, no *monopoly* of influence. Is this not so, at least, in part? And do you suppose I would go to Columbus, and be made the plaything of such chance combinations as might arise? No sir- I will take any position in the fight which my friends may assign me- but it must be an independent command. If I lead the center- I must know who commands the wings- and I must employ my own spies and rangers. If victory should smile upon us, it must be used for the benefit of the whig party- whig interests and men- and, above all, for the advancement of whig principles. All would assent to this *in the abstract*. But the power must rest somewhere of enforcing the practice. Were I

tied down to the Journal could I do anything toward it? I should be in the power of others- men who I do not and would not trust with the use of power. Will *they* trust *me*? You would, on the same principle that I would trust you. On this point then we need not raise difficulties. Should I take an active part in the campaign, you would not understand how and why. That I have now said is under the expectation that you would *not* withdraw yourself from politics. And here let me ask, why afflict yourself with the baseless surmise, that *your name has any connexion with the defeat of the whigs* only as it was used *unsuccessfully*? Nothing can be farther from the truth, as I know, and you will know hereafter- and, let me add, such self reproach is uncalled for, and *may* do you and the common cause much injury. Every man has "good friends"!

A connexion with the Journal, as far as would be useful, can easily be arranged, should it be deemed absolutely necessary for me to go to Columbus. It would, however, be no part of my purpose to buy into the establishment. The means- money- must be had for the central arrangements, independent of a purchase. *I would not be tied up*. A bare connexion with the Journal and the use of its columns, *would* not be enough. If our friends in Kentucky do not understand such things, it is time that they did. They have got to take this matter boldly by the horns, or be driven off with their candidate. There is no mistake about this. *Money is power*. Without power, nothing can be done in this State for the next two years.

### III.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

(Private)

Lebanon 12th Nov 1842.

Dear Sir

I have your letter in answer to mine before me. It is the only instance since the election, of my correspondence with my friends, oral or written, in which I have been able to find thoughts, wishes, & resolves, in sympathy with my own. Most of our friends counsel peace, quietude &c. *for the present*, in order as they say to put the adverse party in a position, that is to induce them to settle on one candidate, or break into two factions, &



split permanently between Cass or somebody else & Calhoun. This it is believed (they say) will take place this winter if we "rest on our arms", they urge further, that Clay, having a strong abolition force against him in all the free states, has lost us the state this year, & that we ought not *now* to make him unconditionally our candidate. If aid from Kentucky is sought *now*, it can only be had on the condition, that we *nail* Clay's flag to the mast. Thus runs the argument, you can readily add the rest that would be urged in favor of such a course. This scheme of policy looks to waiting on Providence *for awhile*, & then doing what may seem to be the best thing under all circumstances. Of this opinion are many of our Cinc[innati] friends with some of more *note* in the centre of the State. The banks are manouvering to cut off the "Home guard" from the main body of the Loco focus, in order to save their baggage, and this also seems to require us to suspend our fire on the whole line. It is urged that if the currency question is settled at all, it must be on Whig doctrines, & this being done the L. Foco party looses its identity so far, and will be left to fight us on the Tariff alone, if it fights at all, which again it is said, will be for us the *right* & much the most favorable issue.

Looking therefore over the whole ground, I am satisfied that if your course is to be pursued, it must be undertaken & carried forward by a few of us, upon our own responsibility & with such means as our heads and hands may command. -We can carry with us most of those who will ever *do* anything- at once, & ultimately all will follow & say well done. Now I think the matter far too important to *rest* in its present "Uncertainty." I wish you to state in plain terms what you *can* or *will* do, & how? In what way? I want to know the details of your plan. I shall remain here until the middle of next week, say till the 24th inst., after that I shall be at Columbus. Meantime address me a line *here forth with* What is it you would put forward in *your last* Message were you in my situation, you say you do not *presume* to advise. Do you not know that the man who never asks advice has very seldom any to give worth having. Do you not know that the best act of friendship ever performed by one man towards another is giving good counsel and this especially in a matter which concerns the counsellor as much as the man counselled? Therefore let me have your views on this matter fully and at once.

Can you not come to Columbus say about the 24th or 25th, come, & let us settle at once on some plan to be pursued- when this is done, we shall know at least *where* we are. Let it be at once understood that I have no childish egotism to be mortified by the rejection of "my plan" of a State Bank; any system which is practicable & has in view the employment even of the present am[oun]t of Bank capital in the State, and presents, tolerable, even much less security to the public, than (as I conceive) a State Bank would, will be very cheerfully embraced by me. If I cannot get what I think best, surely I shall not be rash or vain enough to oppose what the *true* friends of a sound and competent currency desire. Only one thing I stipulate for on entering the service again. I will not be dressed up & sent off in the ostensible character of a commander while the troops are to be left by their Captains, quietly at home to harvest buckwheat. I saw or thought I saw this going on all summer, what feelings it inspired you can imagine. Nothing but a clear consciousness of the *duty* I owed to the country could have overcome the feeling with which I had to combat continually- It is passed- It will never *happen* again. Let me hear from you immediately.

#### IV.

ORAN FOLLETT TO THOMAS CORWIN.

Sandusky, Nov. 18, 1842.

My D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Yours of the 12th, in answer to mine of the 4th, was recd by last mail. I feel obliged to you for the confidence reposed in my judgement, and in proportion to the weight that you would attach to my opinion, do I feel embarrassed in giving it, lest it might in ever so small a degree tend to mislead or place you in a false position. Your demand, therefore, "What it is I would put in my *last message*, were I in your place," compels me to halt- to hesitate- because no man can place himself in the position of another, all things considered, in relation to his expressed opinions & views, public and private. This you will understand. Without assuming to do so, I will so far respond to your demand as to state what I wish was or might be the position of the whig party in Ohio on the currency question, having reference to the question as it stands before the public, and the position of the



Jacobins thereto. *How* and *for what* it was so placed- and why it is necessary to meet it as it presents itself, are questions we need not discuss: They have little connexion with the true merits, but nevertheless we cannot pass round them or get over them. They block our way, and we must regard them.

The disposition of this vexed question is intimately connected with the success of parties, and consequently of *principles*. This point covered we can go on. Now, its treatment all along by our opponents has been matter of policy, narrowed down to the smallest objects of party success, leaving the great interests connected with a sound currency to take care of themselves, or to be nursed by the kind hearted whigs, many or most of them have been persuaded that they could reason the Jacobin brutes out of their *expressed* opinions! How baseless! History of parties as well as nations should have taught us better. There is only one way of dealing with the animals. They must be *headed* - not followed or driven. They must be met with *pointed* weapons, not coaxed by appeals to their *patriotism*. And instead of allowing them to choose their ground in reference to ours, we should choose *our's* in reference to *their's*. Then we should stand some chance of maintaining our position. At all events, the battle would give scope for the exercise of *skill* which seldom fails to triumph over brute force. But, enough of this. To the point- what would you do? I would so dispose of my forces that the enemy would have to approach our lines without weapons in their hands. That would be fine! How would you do it? Easily- by taking their weapons from them! This *would* be fine! But how? Without farther preface or figure, is it not certain that the *leaders* can do nothing in this matter? Do they not stand irrevocably committed against *all* Banks - all corporations? But, *something* must be done. And does not the position of Latham's bill indicate sufficiently clear that they will attempt to lick *that* cat into shape? And what will they make of it? *Nothing*- without whig help. Shall they have it? *No*- unless they first throw down their arms and surrender the whole ground. How should they be made to do this? *Head them*—thus: You can of course find terms to express the *present* condition of things, without *committing* yourself or your friends; the charters expiring- the want of additional facilities- and the *opposition of a large section of the people* to the creation of *independent local Banks* to supply the deficiency. (This last



for our (your) Bank friends, who have so *manfully* maintained their INTERESTS.) There also would be no difficulty in expressing *an opinion*, founded on the judgement and experience of our soundest practical financiers, that a system embracing a State Bank & Branches might be devised, insuring the requisite facilities and security; but as this does not seem to meet the public approbation so cordially as to induce the hope of its adoption in season to meet the public necessities, it is not now urged upon the attention of the Legislature. But, from indications of favour shown to a system somewhat approaching to the plan of a general Banking Law already adopted in some one or more of our Sister States, it is not impossible but that the *wisdom* of the Legislature might be brought to bear on the subject in such a way as to meet the public necessities and expectations. Without pretending to *recommend* any plan in detail, you might *venture* to suggest, that, should such a plan engage the attention of the Legislature, an opportunity is now afforded by the existence of a general Bankrupt Law, to secure the billholder from many of the dangers of loss, by bringing all corporations so created under its operation, thus realizing in the fullest sense the *idea* of INDIVIDUAL LIABILITY on the part of the Stockholders, &c. &c.

Now, would they bite at this bait? *Hardly*, with the Bankrupt Law attached. Then why throw it out? Because, if you do not, they *will* most assuredly adopt something like it as their own original proposition or plan. Why not let them do so if the plan is good for anything? For the plain reason, they would spoil it any how, if left to themselves, and therefore it would fail in their hands, either of being adopted for the want of Whig votes, or, if adopted, fail of relief for the want of proper detail, or the presence of party design in elaborating them. Your notice of the plan and the nature of your suggestions, would give scope enough for difference, should it be necessary to call off our forces.

This will be trifling with the public necessities, you may say. Not at all. Though an angel should offer to lead them with his wisdom, they would not follow. And is not something gained by preventing evil? Being thus headed, they will do nothing, or in a fit of desperation will do something so extra foolish or wicked that they will work the ruin and downfall of their hard-money leaders. *Then* charge home on them with our compact

Whig column- (So it *must* be made)- one fire along the whole line with ball, cartridge, followed by the prick of the bayonet, and they will fall back as long as we advance, just like any other traitorous or factious mob.

Make what you please out of this. You only can judge how far you can consistently and honourably go. So far as I have observed you would run no risk to yourself in thus heading them. If the bait should prove so seductive as to draw over Latham and his followers, *they must come on our terms*. If a *good bill could* be obtained, one effect would grow out of it which would overbalance all probable evil—*it would go far to destroy the monopoly of Legislation*, exercised with such power by these men, by removing the most easy and natural point of attraction for corrupt partisans.

But let this be as it may, of one thing I am clear- there is nothing but danger and death in the *Cin.*[Cincinnati?] policy. They are not to blame nor are they peculiar- it is so in all large towns. They are bound up in their municipal feelings-their city and its interests is in all they feel or know, because always present- it is the first impulse that moves them. I speak of the mass of their active, *talking* men who help form public opinion.

You ask for my plan or views, as to the future, definitely expressed. I have not room in this to give them, but will do so either on paper or orally. I regret that I cannot be in Columbus on the 24th as you desire- will be there sometime in December- as early in the month as possible. The time can be arranged. In reference to the future I will only say that I contemplate *action* as well as newspaper essays. The latter will not do alone. Think about it and see how near we shall come together.

## V.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

(*Private*)

Lebanon 22d Feby 1845

Dear Sir

I last night rec[eive]d a line from a friend at Washington suggesting that the vote on the Texas resolutions would turn on the fidelity of three Loco<sup>2</sup> focos in the senate, Fairfield<sup>3</sup> of Maine being one. The writer asks "could not these rascals be

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<sup>2</sup> Term applied to the Equal Rights party in 1835, later to all Democrats.

<sup>3</sup> John Fairchild.

bought with the hope of office"! It is this hope that leads them to oppose annexation. If their wish can be gratified by Polk we lose them at once. Thus you see events are proving the fact which we surmised & feared when I saw you at Columbus.

The terrible apprehension of consequences inevitable on this result, disturbs me day & night, & I have resolved to *hasten* to Washington sooner than I otherwise would. I shall reach the city by the last day of the month. I shall endeavor to inform myself of the exact state of affairs touching this vital question as soon as I arrive at the Capitol.

If I should deem it advisable for you to come on I will write *instantly*. I know the vote will be taken before you could get there, but other arrangements consequent on what is *now* or *may be* done before it is taken, may require your presence.

## VI.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City 6th March '45.

Dear Sir

I wish you to send my "Country Journal" to this place during the session. I shall subscribe for your Daily *at public charge*, tomorrow, meantime send it regularly, till our secretary orders it. Let both come here while *I* am here.

You have seen "the Message" It is less bellicose than I expected. The fling at French intrigue, in my judgment is below the dignity to say nothing of the discretion of such a document. The definition of the Revenue Standard makes p<sup>s4</sup> now feel rather cold. They have at least *got* a better Tariff President than Mr. Clay.

You will have seen that Mr. Breeze<sup>5</sup> of Ill. moved in the senate that V. P.<sup>6</sup> have the appointment of the Committee, that Mr. Benton<sup>7</sup> read an authority (democratic) contra & so Mr. Breeze's breeze died away. We elect all Committees next Monday. I shall advise you if anything is in the wind, not apparent, from time to time & only pray you not to print unless so requested.

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<sup>4</sup> Pennsylvanians.

<sup>5</sup> Sidney Breeze.

<sup>6</sup> Vice-President George M. Dallas.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas H. Benton.



## VII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City 7th March '45

Dear Follett

Getting into quarters, seeing old friends, &c. here so occupied my time that I have had no leisure to say a word in your ear for these three days past. You have seen the Cabinet as confirmed by us (the Navy only excepted) How does it look! *Buch*<sup>8</sup> the Premier is said to represent no body nor any party except that which *lied* P[ennsylvania] out of its judgment last fall. Marcy<sup>9</sup> is separated from Van B.<sup>10</sup> & Wright<sup>11</sup> by the union of the latter with the Barn<sup>12</sup> burners & is therefore no way acceptable to the Regency. Walker<sup>13</sup> a Repudiator in all senses, public & private, is not the choice of the Calhoun men of the south, nor is he any thing more than a root out of dry ground in the eyes of northern democrats. Cave Johnson is only a sworn friend of Polk & has no transferable popularity personal or political. Mason<sup>14</sup> the att[orne]y Gen[era]l is a good natured agreeable gentleman but far enough from a knowledge of Black letter or sure power of analysis which would alone make a respectable Atty Genl. Bancroft<sup>15</sup> hangs "in dubio" & as I cant reveal executive secrets, I can only tell you what I hear out of the senate chamber. He is said to be an Unfroked Parson, having graduated in the spiritual mysteries of Unitarianism first, & closed with the propogation of Universal salvation. He is I doubt not learned in the abstract Philosophies of Emanuel Kant, Spinoza & Schelling, and vulgar prejudice hints that he is therefore totally ignorant of the science of Hallyards Gunwales & Main masts. He is unpopular with northern Democrats & odious to the extreme south, the latter being of the opinion that he will not protect southern rights on the coast, or on the "High Seas." Pending this nomination the party in

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<sup>8</sup> James Buchanan.

<sup>9</sup> William L. Marcy.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Van Buren.

<sup>11</sup> Silas Wright of New York.

<sup>12</sup> Term applied to Democrats.

<sup>13</sup> Robert J. Walker of Mississippi.

<sup>14</sup> John Y. Mason of Virginia.

<sup>15</sup> George Bancroft.

the senate carry an adjournment over from Thursday to Monday next. What this means you can guess. Meantime the President cannot go ahead for want of a full cabinet. I am sorry but cant help it. Today a caucus is being held in the Vice Presidents room in the Capitol, & neither Senators Reps nor sovereign people can get a glimpse of the President, because, there is a Cabinet Counsel all day. This morning Col. Butler<sup>16</sup> who was carried to this place by the President to be Secy of War, was offered a Chargee-ship to Venezuela!!! He declined instantly saying he should leave tomorrow for K[entuck]y & considered himself an ill used gentleman. Calhoun<sup>17</sup> was *attempted* to be sweetened by the offer of envoy extraordinary to *St. James*. He rejected it promptly and some say with scorn. He is considered a dead cock in the pit. Weller<sup>18</sup> of Ohio asks the place occupied by Dr. Miller. Weller yesterday married his 3d wife and claims rations and pay. It is said that the Ohio Democracy assembled en masse & went to the Palace, to demand that Sam[ue]l Medory should be made P. M. Genl!!! Their wishes were made vocal by an eloquent statement of the many virtues & high qualities of Samuel, by Senator Allen<sup>19</sup>. The President regretted the necessities of the Republic forbade a compliance with their wishes. The Mail could not be safely carried by other hands than those of his friend Cave. I see Bancroft, Dickinson, Glover, & divers of that ilk dashing rapidly up & down the avenue in hacks!!! Never were the sweet ones more sorely puzzled- Calhoun considering himself & friends as having forfeited their "stock" retires with the declaration that if there is to be prescription for opinions sake, he shall *feel it his duty* to oppose the administration, so I hear. This brings up a dilemma. Five large western States blotted out of the Cabinet chart, & no chance without the *forbidden* prescription to feed the faithful with offall of a Bureau or even a Clerk's desk!! Is it not shameful! I predict that "the party" will be torn to pieces. Woodbery<sup>20</sup> affects to lead off in the senate, my colleague will dispute the pre-eminence with him. We are told

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<sup>16</sup> William O. Butler.

<sup>17</sup> John C. Calhoun.

<sup>18</sup> John B. Weller of Ohio in 1845.

<sup>19</sup> William Allen of Ohio.

<sup>20</sup> Levi Woodbury.

that his Majesty has business for the senate to occupy them till the last of next week.

Texas (as far as we can make it so) being ours, the next step lately averred by southern Democracy is, the repeal of the Tariff of 42. This is to be done next session. Will the north pay that price for a lease of four years! If not the south secede & then Polk ends as Tyler ended.

In this latter contingency I have a scheme for uniting with the northern Democracy to keep *in* the Tariff and *keep* out Texas as this splendid empire of negroes, is you know not yet in bed with us though proposals unequivocal of marriage, have been made. What think you? I do not get your paper here and am at fault as to what is doing at home.

## VIII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington 13th March 1845

Dear Sir

We have done little, have but little to do, & shall probably get a discharge on Monday next. We have confirmed a few unimportant nominations, after the Cabinet, and I have from "authority" that the President is not likely to tomahawk beyond what might be considered "Christian ferocity". It is a *weak* power. It does not feel strong. Democracy has lost its self respect. The truth is that Polk is not far from the category of Tyler. He is like Tyler an accident. He knows this. His friends know & feel it, and if his friends were united they would compel him to many a wild and wicked freak. But his friends are not united. Calhoun has gone home in disgust. McDuffie<sup>21</sup> has left the senate for home without pairing off with any whig. *It is said* that Huger<sup>22</sup> of S. C. will not vote on the election of Printer to the senate, or if he does vote will go for Gales & Seaton.

If the other side move for the election of a Printer we shall vote for it, and if it comes on now, we shall elect Gales & Seaton. We sent off an express this afternoon for Pearce<sup>23</sup> of Md. whose

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<sup>21</sup> George McDuffie of S. Carolina.

<sup>22</sup> Daniel E. Huger.

<sup>23</sup> James A. Pearce.



wife died a few days ago. He will be here tomorrow night. Our Ohio men are here, sadly disappointed. Many of them look as if they are about to be removed to the township of their last residence. I see you have sent off a Slogan<sup>24</sup> Yell requiring the Clans to assemble at Columbus in May. I have all along been astonished at the apathy so prevalent on the subject of Texas, especially in Ohio. A convention in May might serve to wake up the stupified faculties of our people, and cause them to see the real danger that if not upon them, lies right before them.

I hope to hear of a new apportionment of representation in Congress so as to give Ohio its proper Whig strength here. this being done, and a registry law enacted & I think we may be thankful after all.

I hear tonight that Weller and John E. Hunt are competitors for the place held by Dr. Miller. *Weller lately married a niece of Bentons. Hunt is brotherinlaw of Cass.*<sup>25</sup> It works well.

Genl. Scott looks ten feet high & Judge McLean<sup>26</sup> is "spoken of". Webster gives good dinners and is full of conservative doctrine. Clayton (John M.) is on the ground eager for a fray, & as good a man as any that has been born in the last Fifty years.

## IX.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 12th Oct 1845

Dear Sir

Since I rec[eive]d your letter I have been until today confined to my room. I could not go to Miami. I wrote to several exhorting to Union, God knows with what results as I have recd nothing from any one to bid us hope for good. That Devil *self* is the last of all the imps of Hell to be exorcised & be [that as] it is, that is at work, to produce this discord, I therefore fear the worst, while I hope the best.

I verily believe I should have gotten away with the chills, had not the Maryland election, come to aid them just as I was firing on them hotly with Quinine. But in Gods name, what drug is proof against such accumulated cause of disease. What

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<sup>24</sup> Call for convention, 1850, to form a new constitution for state of Ohio.

<sup>25</sup> Lewis Cass.

<sup>26</sup> Judge John McLean of Ohio.

means this. Is the whole world stark mad. Gales says no sensible or calculating person looked for any other results!!! I tremble for Ohio on Tuesday. In our quarter all will be done as usual, that is, every county that has been Whig will remain Whig and show their strength sufficiently to secure the right men.

X.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City 26th Jan'y 1846

Dear Sir

I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt of your letter enclosing one to Johnston, I read it delivered it and on his call discussed the matter with him. He will conform as near as may be to the limits you prescribe.

We are sailing slowly and carelessly along keeping a sharp look out for advice from Uncle John Bull. It is now evident that we were not mistaken in supposing that all Charlatans here meant only to swagger and bluster & if possible force us into the position of British Whigs, & knew all the while that if pressed to War, they could fall back on arbitration, or negotiate or offer to negotiate, a commercial treaty giving free trade for Oregon to 54° 40'.

It is quite certain that despatches came to our govt. from Mc Lane and proabbly from the British ministry also, by the last Steamer. It is more than probable that negotiations have been re-opened either here or at London. We have called upon the President for these despatches, I doubt whether we get them, but we shall not act in the senate without them, I give these hints for you *only*.

I hear that attempts are making to change the termination of the Ohio Railroad from Manhattan to Toledo. I do not know what reasons of State may be urged for this but I hope some such of a way controlling character may be found before such a step is taken. I will be very frank with you. I own a very small tract of land lying on the east of this road to Manhattan, & near the river. My interest therefore, though small, is enough to set my testimony aside, If however there be no good reason for this course, and I suspect there is none, I hope you will protect the public interests and oblige the country as

well as myself thereby. I see you are Dictator elect in the matter of Public Works, it is therefore your duty to see that "no detriment comes to the Republic."

Pray drop me a line saying how party strength stands now in Ohio. Judging from your tone in the Journal & such facts as I can learn, it would seem (if we are wise) that the Democratic party is evidently in a galloping consumption. Symptoms of such a seisure in the party here are pretty fully developed. In the Cabinet just now the worst possible feelings prevail. Buchanan, it is said is to be nominated today for a seat on the Bench, Woodward<sup>27</sup> as you may have seen having been rejected by the senate. *Buch* it is said despairs of saving P[ennsylvani]a. and wishes to retire. Mason (Atty Genl) it is said will be promoted to the State Department. The senate will then predominate and free trade will be pushed with every appliance which power and patronage can command, all this is rumor only but it is quite probable, & is believed by many who profess to know. Several days have elapsed since Woodward's rejection & as yet we have [no?] nomination for the long vacant seat. This delay is the result of difficulties in the Cabinet. Dallas & Walker unite in opposition to Buchanan. *Buch* carried his point in Woodward's rejection, and for this I think they will force him to retire, he on the other hand will stand out & hold his place and wont be *turned* out unless they give him a seat on the Bench. Calhoun after a temporary notoriety is beginning to sink into impotency. He can do little with his party and nothing if he leave it. The contest for leadership narrows down to Cass Benton & Allen here. Benton grows *conservative* as Cass & Allen become more *destructive*. We shall have Bullion with us when the War breaks out or the Tariff. All these things you may have guessed from events which have transpired here. Let me hear from you.

## XI.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

*Private*

Lebanon 20th Aug. 1846

Dear Sir

I have never been able to give an answer to some questions propounded in your letter to me some two months ago

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<sup>27</sup> Judge George W. Woodward of Pa.



although I have little doubt but a combination of men of opposite politics in the free states might have been formed when we spoke of it, before the Texas scheme was consummated yet *since that event*, I have seen no opportunity promising such a result. If any be possible, it is to be found in the present position of the Tariff question, & even on that, I fear we should differ irreconcilably on the men *upon* whom we should compromise. There are too many aspirants on both sides. This is the irremediable curse of both parties & consequently of the country. For instance, Wright, Benton, Cass, Calhoun, Walker & since the *casting* vote on the Tariff, Dallas, all look to & pray day & night to be made King in the land. On our side, Webster (already avowed by himself at least) Scott, McLean, Clayton & Crittenden. You can see at once if we (say you & I) propose to go for Silas Wright, he giving Bond on certain points, every Democratic & Whig aspirant & the adherents of each, would oppose us, and so if any other of the corps should be proposed. I have looked with intense anxiety into the depths of this mystery of iniquity, and I am satisfied that this unsleeping "personal ambition, is the fatal head spring, whence all the bitter waters flow, wherewith the too credulous people have been so drenched for the last twenty years. This is about all I or any one else can with truth answer, in reply to your inquiry.

I am in great anxiety to know whether Iowa has rejected or adopted her constitution. If the latter, then I wish you to give me the name of some man, who is acquainted with the leading whigs personally, or by character well [known?] in that State, who could be induced to go to Iowa & remain till their Legislature is elected. The whole power of the Federal government by its officers & money in hand with super added promises for the future are at work there against the Whigs. We should aid our friends there with such documents, tracts and speeches as may serve to counteract the deceptions, that will be practiced on the other side. This to small extent is at their command, and I wish to find a very prudent and upright man to do the work. But this only in the event of the adoption by the people of the present constitution & the consequent speedy election of a Legislature. We can have two Whig senators from Iowa, and give her a fair start if the people shall be thoroughly reached, as they may be, on the questions now pending.

I beg you to answer this as soon as possible. How goes the gubernatorial contest in your part of the state, I shall be grateful for your opinion on this & all other matters of great interest & promise hereafter somewhat more promptitude in replying to your always interesting & welcome letters.

## XII.

### ORAN FOLLETT TO THOMAS CORWIN.

Columbus, Aug. 26, 1846.

My Dr. Sir,

Your favour of the 20th was handed me by Judge Lazell. I thank you for the reference to my judgement of a matter of so much interest, but I am unable to aid by designating a person of sufficient talent, discretion, and standing for so delicate and important a mission. Nor am I able yet to determine, from the varying accounts, whether Iowa has accepted or rejected her new Constitution. It is to be hoped, for her own sake, that she has rejected it.

I appreciate all the difficulties you suggest, surrounding the Whig party. It is hard to move in any direction at the present conjuncture. We may not even move straight ahead, because of these difficulties. And I fear me that we shall practice the Calhoun policy so long- fighting every body, but doing nothing for ourselves- that, by and by, after exposing our own position and policy, we shall find ourselves at war with all, with no resources of our own. It was a feeling near akin to this that induced me *not* to go to New York this summer.

Mr. Crittenden<sup>28</sup> staid over night with us on Monday. I saw him in the evening. Some of our good Whigs, conspicuous among whom was Mr. Galloway<sup>29</sup> (who thinks his greatness consists in knowing and *being known*- the latter an unfortunate propensity on his part)- bored him on Thursday morning for a Speech. He arrived late Monday evening and departed after breakfast.

I trust you will not relinquish your good intentions toward Iowa. It is of immense importance that she start right, if she be coming into the Union. Do you know Doty<sup>30</sup> of Wisconsin?

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<sup>28</sup> John J. Crittenden.

<sup>29</sup> Samuel Galloway.

<sup>30</sup> James D. Doty.

He is a dangerous ally, but strong in such movements. He will however have his hands full at home: Besides it is rather doubtful where to find him politically. I have other acquaintances in Wisconsin who possess many requisites, but lack prudence, for want of experience.

I will bear this matter in mind since you have drawn my attention to it, and if I can aid you, you shall hear from me specially. I return North this evening. Truly, yours &c.

### XIII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City 4th Feby 1847

Dear Sir

There is no connexion or combination in the movements you advert to in the Senate & House; Silas Wright's men moved as you have seen, with great apparent resolution for a day or two. It is said they are now patching up a peace with their southern allies. This is being done under the guidance of Marcus Morton who is now here. But it is all in vain to speculate from what *now is today* to what *will be* the position of these two sections of the party tomorrow. There is now no doubt but the Democratic party will unite on Wright. I have as little doubt, that Calhoun will be run in the south, or that his forces will ultimately unite with us.

We have the 3 Million Bill up in the Senate- on that we shall have a recorded vote on the principle of Wilmots famous resolution. It will crucify Dix & Co. from the North. I shall not be surprised if we vote the War at an end in some form or other before we pass from this Bill. If we resolve there shall be no further acquisition of Territory, the War will die in 24 hours. We are within two votes of this in the Senate, or I have been badly informed as to the state of opinion, on the Democratic side of the senate. I think we have no alternative left, we *must* oppose the War. I *cannot will* not give it any aid or comfort in any mode directly or indirectly. It will be soon a "bye word" a curse, a hissing, & scorn with all honest Men. The very expense, (which we never shall reimburse by territory) will make it a Mill stone round the neck of the party that made it.



What are you doing in Ohio, Is the legislature to be called together? I have heard so.

I marvel greatly that the Treasurer Whitehill, or Bliss, does not come on here & get about \$60,000 which an agent employed by Gov. Bartley has fished up from our 3 per ct. fund. It will *all* be lost unless Whitehill *comes* for it. It cannot be had without. See Joseph & show him this.

#### XIV.

#### THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City 14th Aug. 1848

Dear Sir

I have just had a long talk with Root<sup>31</sup>- predicated on the suggestions of y[ou]r letter.

The substance of this conference is about *this* If he is nominated for Congress in y[ou]r Dist[ri]ct he will give no trouble to the Taylor men or the Taylor ticket. Though he would not be willing to give pledges as that might seem like bidding for a nomination; he is too proud & honorable to do anything, or say anything, which would disturb the harmony of the State election, or wound the feelings of any one, who choose to vote for him. He will only ask the privilege of voting as he pleases at the Presidential election.

I have been all along trying to get him out of his position, which I think an improper one for him. He is honest, talented & capable of much usefulness. His present posture is *his own*, that is something in these times.

Now let me suggest to you, that it is certainly in every view proper, to select him for your candidate. He will unite a larger vote than any other man can, that is if the Taylor men will go for him. He has been discreet here. He has no real sympathy with the *Men* of the free soil ticket & will give an impulse to your affairs in the North by the heavy majority he will command over the Cass candidate. Thus we will have the chapter of accidents as well as events to speculate upon, between this & the 7th of Nov. If you take another man, the free soil men, abolitionists & others, may take him or another to suit them,

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<sup>31</sup> Joseph M. Root of Ohio.

& run you down in Oct. With Root you are sure of a true Whig, call himself by what name soever he may.

You will pardon the suggestion. Root knows nothing of our correspondence, tis best he should not.

Yrs truly

Tho Corwin

O Follett Esq

Sandusky City, Ohio

PS. Oregon Bill has gone to the President. I have not heard whether he signed it, I left the Hall a few moments before adjournment.

T. C.

## XV.

### THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 18th May '49

Dear Sir

Yr letter of the 15th is before me. I have been sorely vexed with the proceedings of some of our friends at Washington, in very small matters. I perceive the same evil has beset your mind from the same cause.

We should bear in mind always, that mistakes will be made by the very best men, where the very best intentions are at work. I still flatter myself, this is the solution of some of the problems, that have puzzled me greatly, in the working of our system, for the last three months.

I have just this moment "dropt a word in season" to Mr. Meredith touching matters at Sandusky City as well as other places in Ohio similarly situated. Will he give heed? I fear not since he obstinately "*could not*" act in the premises for three months back. We shall see.

Ewing<sup>32</sup> is trying to do the best he can. If he fails in doing exactly what he should, it will be in consequence of that trait in his character, which all who know him have observed, a disposition to consult his own Will rather than his judgment.

I shall be in Washington from the 1st of June to the 25th on *professional business*. When there command me in any & all ways.

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<sup>32</sup> Thomas Ewing.

## XVI.

### THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 20th July 1849

Dear Sir

If any thing in this world were worth an emotion beyond pity or contempt I think the subject of yr last letter to me & its history, might be ranked amongst the exceptions I allude to.

After I had reached Washington on my last visit say about the 10th of June, I one morning recd y[ou]r letter covered by an envelope with a stranger's superscription. Inside was a note saying "*this letter was found near the Capitol I return it to you fearing least its contents if known might injure the party.* L. S. Who L. S. may be, I could never so much as guess, & I will add, I never very much cared. The letter had come to Lebanon, & was sent from thence to me at Washington. Much of what you stated as to my relations to the present Cabinet had reached me through various channels before. I knew well from the beginning, that I had no affirmative strength or influence in that quarter. My vote in the senate was a thing "per se" which some would regard as worth considering, that I was "unsafe" I knew myself, & they just as well as I, that is, they guessed I would not bend & turn, hither & thither, to suit the varying phases of this or that ones wishes or interests. The working of these stubborn facts has been, that my counsels have been heeded "to a degree" commensurate with the *supposed value of them & my vote*. I have treated every one with perfect candor, concealing nothing of fact or opinion at any time. I have sought to make the Gov[ernmen]t *act* as it had *talked*, and as we had always said whigs would act if they had but the power. That certain ones in the Cabinet have dreams of advancement I dare say is true. Such insanity is so common it would be strange if the Malady was not found in places favorable to such pestilential diseases. It is to be deplored, but more to be pitied & laughed at. It will certainly destroy the fated subject of it, but the thing to be deplored is, it may also destroy the Whig party, & so for a time, remit us to the evil domination of a pestilent loco focoism. Meantime we must not forget that the ship is in our hands & crew & cargo are at our disposal, or rather, we are responsible for the right treatment of both. What shall



we do in Ohio this fall? I passed thro your city and wished much to see you & confer on this point, but the health of my daughter hurried me home. When & where can we meet? What did the Cleveland convention on the 13th? What will be the effect of this combination on our annual election this fall? Does Root go *all* lengths with John<sup>33</sup> Van Buren & Co.? I had hoped not but recently have had fears that he might think of going over from the Whigs & *against* them. I still have a stout confidence that he is working with right motives, but fear the effect of his pride & hatred of certain persons connected with Gen[era]l Taylors Cabinet. Is Giddings resolved to break with the whig party, merely because a slaveholder is its President now! If all of evil in this quarter, which may be feared, comes to be a fact, what effect will it work upon the relative positions of parties in Ohio? Shall we not have a general council called in some *way*, at some *place* soon.

I write me upon receipt of this, if indeed *this* ever reaches you, I hope it will not meander as yours to me did & fall into the hands of the phillistines. Present my regards to Mrs. F. & believe me always

## XVII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 21st Aug 1849

Dear Sir

I write from the Bar of the Court, with such appliances as the Sheriff accords. I intended two weeks ago to come to Sandusky to see & confer with you. I find it now impossible. Tell me what free Democracy will do in your part of the State! Here & hereabouts the leaders will get up tickets, holding themselves open to a bargain with the Democratic party proper at any time before the election comes off. Many of the ranks and file will not go with them to the Democratic fold but our old majorities in Warren, Greene & Clinton Counties, will be frittered down to about one fourth of what they were in former times. If things go in this way elsewhere, our next Legislature will be Democratic for I take it for granted, the Democratic Anaconda will swallow the "free soil" calf as it did last winter.

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<sup>33</sup> John Van Buren of New York.

I wish to know how things look in the North, & can think of no one so likely as yourself to give me the truth in such matters.

It is a sad fate which condemns us to the cholera and this political curse in the same year.

## XVIII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Lebanon 31st Aug. 1849

Dear Sir

I rec[eive]d "yours" yesterday The answer I recd to certain queries, was sad- hopeless, as all my correspondence from that quarter on that subject. All that you say of the unhappy cause of our deplorable condition was familiar to me partly by private report & partly from my own foreboding.

I need not assure you, how fully I can sympathize with you in feelings of regret for all this. I know how you have been treated, & also how *your* friend, has fared. Indignation was the first feeling, contempt the second, & now I can with truth say, I pity those who have been led into those very inconvenient mistakes.

I had heard from others that certain Cabinet minister at Washington had given out "that I could have no influence there" I cared little for this opinion, or wish, or its promulgation, nothing certainly, *on my own account*, for I had nothing to wish for, which a Cabinet could give, what I regret and abhor is, that any one should be treated as an enemy there, because *he is not an enemy of mine*. There is a contemptible small nature in this which I loathe so much, as to make it more than half the time incredible. Even now though hundreds have told me this again & again, I do not fully believe it. That great mistakes have been made I am fully aware. The question at last always recurs to me thus: "Whether these things proceed from selfish motives or not, what at last, is my duty to the Country." To this question I can give but one answer, I feel bound to sink all personal feeling, in the paramount interests of the public. I feel sure, that in the end, that those who act from any other motive, or with any other view, will meet with lasting, & probably, sudden disgrace & defeat. I shall certainly

contribute to such consumation when & where I can, without detriment to the general good, and now, let me implore you to look carefully into the chances of doing good in your quarter of the State, before you decide upon more intervention.

I *know*, that if any man can prevent that coalition between old Whigs & pretended lovers of "freedom" you are that man, I speak now in reference to the Reserve only.

The conduct & public tone of the "Free Democracy", if it becomes formidable, will drive the whole *South* into the arms of Taylor, and then the whole *North* are just as likely to run away from him, simply because the Senate trust him. Then the Whig party will be transferred to the South, and the crazy North, will be raving in the Bedlam of its own monomania "Free Democracy." I cannot comprehend the view of a party that proposes just one thing & cares for nothing else, especially when that one thing is done or soon to be done by the natural & necessary progress of events. When I look at such a party, I fear their motives or distrust their judgment. I do not see any good but much evil from its predominance. It must not overturn every thing in Ohio, as it certainly will, if the union should be as perfect between it and democracy in the coming election, as it was in the legislature last winter. When & where can I see you- can you tell me. Will you be at Columbus soon? or at Cinc[innati]? If at either place let me know & I will meet you.

## XIX.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

*Private*

Lebanon 7th Oct. 1849

Dear Sir

I rec[eive]d yours this moment. I was informed by Mr. Ewing when last at Washington that a change of the Editorship of the Journal was likely to take place, I was requested to pass that way on my return and look into the business & aid in it.

I found Dennison who informed me that Perry & Bascom of Mc Connellsville had contracted for the paper, Bascom to be the laboring & leading Editor. Some \$4000 were wanting for some time on good security which I promised to get if possible. I understood from Dennison that Judge<sup>34</sup> Thrall was

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<sup>34</sup> William B. Thrall, proprietor & editor of the Ohio State Journal, 1846-49.



anxious to get out of it. I was satisfied the change would place the paper on a better footing, & knowing Perry, Bascom & Denison to be good & I think sincere Whigs, I never considered of their personal affections or antipathies. I have a fear which controls all my movements. It is that we (the Whigs) are in danger of losing power every where- any thing which *can* prevent this which may be done with honor, I am ready to do.

I think the change promises benefit to the Whigs & by consequence to the Country. Pray tell me what further you know about it. As to myself, I am indifferent & therefore defy them.

When in Washington I looked into the Customs on the Lakes. If your Collector or him at Toledo will say to Rockwell, Inspector of Customs at Washington that an Inspector should be appointed all "along shore", Rockwell will appoint you. Whittlesey<sup>35</sup> asked me to request you to write to him on the subject. No one knows of this but Whittlesey, Rockwell & myself. Pray loose no time in writing to Whittlesey at Washington.

## XX.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington 4th Aug 1850

Dear Sir

I rec[ei]ve[d] your letter this morning. As it is Sabbath day I can "shut up" & answer it briefly. You are not mistaken in supposing that I am extremely embarrassed in my present situation.

The city is full of "old friends" & my correspondence admonishes me daily of them & elsewhere. I do not classify such as Thrall & yourself with the immense numbers of which I know but little.

I have often tasked myself to find some place suitable to the taste, habit & aptitude of Thrall. He deserves much at our, I might say my hands. Pray ask him what is the minimum compensation that would induce him to come here, or *what* he will accept elsewhere. Ohio, you know, can only claim her share, & I wish I could give up that "lion's share" of patronage belonging to her into which I have been literally *drafted*, so that

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<sup>35</sup> William A. Whittlesey.

it might be divided amongst the good men & good whigs of that State. Ask Thrall to write me fully. I have recd no letter from Thrall. My daily correspondence is opened by a confidential cl[er]k. He may have overlooked his letter.

As to foreign officers, they stand thus as to Ohio. Todd is in Brazil (a first class Mission) When he returns two good & not undistinguished Ohio Whigs are applying for that place. Whether others & how many missions may be given to us I am not yet advised. When the new Cabinet is full the subject will be carefully considered. At present you can readily imagine we are struggling with difficulties of another sort. When the sun shines out we shall look over the ground & see where seed may be planted with the hope of a good crop of faithful public service.

## XXI.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

W[ashington] City 26th Oct 1850

Dear Sir

I rec[eive]d your interesting letter a few days since and assure you I have had no time from necessary work to say a word in reply. I perceive you have appreciated justly, at least as I believe, the true nature and tendency of parties and their positions in N[ew] York. I have besought my associates from the beginning, to regard the topic of slavery as one of temporary Interest and duration. It can never be forgiven to some of our well meaning friends that they press the agitation *now*, when agitation cannot by any possibility result in relief from the evils of which they complain. One had as well curse the rules of the World because disease and pain are connected with life as curse the Gov[ernmen]t of the *United States* because negro slavery exists in S[outh] Carolina and other States.

I have persuaded myself that the Ohio election fairly understood is to be regarded as a symptom of returning health. It is not so rident and inflammatory in its paroxysms as in 48, so I gather consolation, from well founded hope of a continued mitigation of popular delusions- A nearer view than I could heretofore command of the actual working of the Executive Dep[artmen]t of the Republic has disclosed to me Mischief (deemed

unavoidable) which I am resolved to probe to the bottom, and if possible, remove. The effort in the opinion of shrewd politicians involves the destruction of that party which shall make it and of him in particular who shall lead in it. Whether this calamity befalls or not, that is whether the effort be made or not, will depend upon too many contingencies to make it worth while to ask even advise on the subject.

How like how exactly like the Gourd of Jonah is the official life of any one connected with the public service. Your letter suggesting a willingness to serve has often been the subject of anxious thought. Extraneous (but still powerful) influences sufficed to shield *you* from an urgent solicitation by me to take charge of the treas[ur]y. You can guess at *him* who might urge the preponderating arguments in favor of his *old and true* friend Sloane (?). Though such a place offered no strong motive to your acceptance, yet my selfishness prompted a hope that you might accept, had it been possible for me to solve away the reasons offered for another. Should I remain here for another year, I may draw heavily upon your Patriotism, in such event I pray you humble yourself to the task of sacrifice. I do not hold Public employment here of every grade is *in truth & the long run*, a sacrifice.

I like the straight forward candor and plain sense of Pres[iden]t Fillmore. I am well satisfied with every member of the Cabinet but myself. I do verily believe each and all intend "come weal or woe" to steer the barque of State into her proper and constitutional anchorage. If we fail (and I think the chances against us) to conciliate popular approbation, why then we only write the old Historical Chapter over again.

I should be glad to avail myself of your circumspection, and close view of the existing state of parties, and their probable future modifications. I beg you occupy your frequent leisure hours [in] jotting down your reflections for me.

## XXII.

THOMAS CORWIN TO ORAN FOLLETT.

*Private*

W[ashington] City 7th May, '51.

Dear Sir

I intended to advise you to take charge of the paper at Buffalo. Whittlesey at my elbow says you have determined on



that course. I rejoice in this. *It* is your vocation. I know it is irksome, it is hard work- difficult work and worst of all, like most public business (except lying) it is thankless work. Still it is work you can do better than most men and you can do it well and effectively without becoming a blackguard. I shall see your footprints of course. One request, If you ever wish to know any thing here which interests the public and which you cannot get easily command me fully and freely.

My chief object in writing is to ask you *who* we shall appoint to the office of Collector at Sandusky City. *I pray you say not a word of the vacancy for many reasons.* Several are already recommended on the *supposition* of a vacancy. Give me your opinion.

Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

Vol. IX, 1914, No. 4  
OCTOBER-DECEMBER

ANNUAL REPORT  
AND  
INDEX VOLS. VII-IX

CINCINNATI, OHIO

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COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

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CHARLES T. GREVE    FREDERICK W. HINKLE  
MISS L. BELLE HAMLIN



ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
Historical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 7, 1914



CINCINNATI  
THE ABINGDON PRESS

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The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1914

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### LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 7, 1914.

*Mr. President and Members of the Society:*

There has been no special event during this year marking the history of the library of the Society. As in previous years, numerous volumes and pamphlets have been added and the progress made in the cataloguing, classifying and general adjustment of the Collection compares favorably with the work accomplished in the past. We have continued the issue of our quarterly publication (now in its ninth year) and the labor attached thereto absorbs much of the librarian's time.

The accessions acquired during the year are as follows: 83 volumes contributed; 33 volumes purchased from the Margaret Rives King fund; 14 from the Elizabeth Haven Appleton fund; 2 from the Society of the Colonial Dames' fund; 15 from the General fund; 48 volumes added by binding pamphlets and periodicals; and 10 volumes added by exchange for duplicate periodicals in the collection. This addition of 205 volumes to the 26007 volumes reported last year, increases the total number of titles in our library to 26212. The pamphlets donated number 1006, and those bought 67. The principal portion of the latter relate to Cincinnati or other localities in Ohio.

Among the volumes secured in exchange for duplicate periodicals are: Ohio at Vicksburg; Pioneer Preacher, by Milburn; Notable Men of Cincinnati; History of the Presbyterian Church at Trenton, N. J.; History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pa.; History of Dayton and Montgomery County, Ohio; The



First Reformed Protestant Church at Albany, N. Y.; Christian Communion by Isaac Watts, 1st American ed.; and a number of periodicals.

We were fortunate this year in securing, by purchase, the first 15 volumes of the Cincinnati Daily Commercial, thereby making our set much more complete. The titles to some other purchases are:—

Original Narrative Series—Indian Wars, and Witchcraft Cases, 2 vols.;

Heitman's Revised Edition of Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army;

Powell's Democratic Party of Ohio;

Fortier's History of Louisiana;

Trevelyan's George the Third and Charles Fox, v. 2;

Smith's Wars between England and America;

Patton's Political Parties in the United States;

Phillips' Life of Robert Toombs;

Johnson's Life of Stephen A. Douglas;

Rothert's History of Muhlenberg County, Ky.;

Doyle's General William Von Steuben;

Writings of John Quincy Adams, Vol. 3;

Williams' Welsh in Columbus, Ohio;

Williams' Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, 2v.;

Memorial Manual of Congregational Church at Mansfield, Ohio, 1882;

Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard;

Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson, 3v.;

Peck's Jacksonian Epoch;

Davidson's History of Battery A, 1st Regt. Ohio V. L. A.;

Battle of Springhill, Tenn., by Shellenberger;

Garfield's Place in History, by H. C. Pedder;

Hansbrough's The Wreck, an historical and critical study of the Administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft;

Town Records of Norwich, Conn. (Vital statistics);

Vols. 33 to 45 inclusive, of the Collections of the Essex Institute, thus making complete our set, consisting of 49 volumes.

Mr. Charles T. Greve presented the Society with three volumes, 25 x 22 inch. in size, of Surveyors' Maps of Cincinnati, issued in 1891; also a copy of "Who is Who in and from Ohio; A History of the State," 2 folio vols., published 1910.

We have received a copy of the "Life and Public Services of J. Glancy Jones," 2 vols., by Charles Henry Jones. This is a valuable contribution to American history. It contains, besides much other historical matter, numerous letters written by him and his political associates, and in the Appendix we find his diplomatic correspondence while he was Minister to Austria. This is the gift of Mr. Richmond L. Jones of Reading, Pa.

A copy of "Notes on the Life of Noah Webster," 2 vols., compiled by a granddaughter, Mrs. Emily Ellsworth Fowler Ford, and edited by her daughter, Mrs. Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, has been given by the latter to the Society. This publication, another work of historic value, contains Webster's diary kept during the larger portion of his life, many of his letters and those of his correspondents, as well as a very interesting account of his life.

Information regarding the lives of our early pioneers is always particularly acceptable, and the gift of a short sketch of the life of Colonel Oliver Spencer, by the author, Weston Spies Gales (a descendant), is a welcome addition to the library. It is stated that Col. Spencer was a native of East Haddam, Connecticut, but moved early to New Jersey, where he married the daughter of Robert Ogden. After serving with distinction as an officer in the Revolution, he came with his family to Columbia, now a part of Cincinnati. He was Judge of Probate for Hamilton County in 1790, and during the same year, Governor St. Clair appointed him Colonel of the first Regiment of Militia ever organized at Miami. The account by his son, Rev. Oliver M. Spencer, of his own capture by Indians in the vicinity of Cincinnati, is probably a familiar narrative to most of our citizens.

We have received No. 8 of the "Original Papers," issued by the Wisconsin History Commission, bearing the title "An Artilleryman's Diary by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Private Sixth Wisconsin Battery." This embraces a period of three years of the writer's life, to which is added in a preface by the Rev. Jenkins Lloyd Jones (author), a short account of his life before and after his army service to the present time. Numerous other publications have been given—too many for special mention. We are indebted to the Canadian Archivist; to the Royal Society of Canada; to the University of Toronto; to American Historical Associations and Universities and to other individual givers.

Gifts of miscellaneous character.

*From Mr. D. L. James:*

Criminal Docket, Hamilton County, Ohio, July, 1861-Feb., 1864.

*From Mr. Philip Hinkle:*

Bill of lading United States Transportation Co., Troy & Erie Line, 1841.

*From Dr. A. I. Carson:*

Notification, July 29, 1836, to James F. Whiteman, of his appointment as Surveyor for the State of Ohio, signed by William Wall, Acting Commissioner of the Board of Public Works;

Appointment of James F. Whiteman as Commissioner for Clarke County, Ohio, Oct., 1855;

Appointment of James Findlay Whiteman as Brigadier General of the 4th Brigade, 8th Division, O. V. M., Dec. 11, 1857;

Certificate of the appointment, Dec., 1857;

Letter, Dec. 10, 1857, of John James, Jr., to General Whiteman;

Letter, Dec. 21, 1857, of John A. Corwin, Division Inspector, to General James F. Whiteman;

Two obituary notices of the death of General Benjamin Whiteman, 1852, newspaper clippings from Cincinnati paper and Clifton, Green Co., Ohio, paper.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.



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## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

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Quarterlies for the year 1914 have appeared as follows:

VOL. IX, Nos. 1 and 2, January-April, published under one cover, contains "Burr-Blennerhassett Documents," edited by Lesley Henshaw, M. A., Assistant in History, University of Cincinnati. Ten of these documents are under the heading "Testimony from the Federal Court Records for the Southern District of Ohio;" the other eleven, forming part of the Manuscript Collection of the Society, are grouped under "Testimony from the Gano Papers." Fac-similes of the Burr Letter of July 29, 1806, and of a Key to Hieroglyphics, Numbers and Alphabet Cipher (1794 to 1800) used by Burr are inserted in the publication.

VOL. IX, No. 3, July-September, consists of nineteen letters of Thomas Corwin addressed to Oran Follett and three by Follett to Corwin. They are selections from the manuscripts in the Follett Papers belonging to the Society.

VOL. IX, No. 4, contains the Annual Report of the Society, and an Index covering Vols. VII, VIII and IX of the Quarterly.

The events of the year so far as they need record will be found in the report of the Librarian.

Three Corporate Members have died during the year, Griffin Taylor Miller, Melville E. Ingalls and Obed J. Wilson; and Mrs. Louise Nettleton Anderson, a Life Member. All of them had long been members. Each well represents the kind of generous civic interest which has always been the main support and encouragement of our Society.

JOSEPH WILBY.

December 7, 1914.

# REPORT OF TREASURER

DECEMBER 7, 1914.

*For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1914.

Schedule "A."

## STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES At November 30, 1914.

### ASSETS

Cash in Bank.....	\$1,227 58
Librarian's Petty Fund.....	17 22
Central Trust and Safe Dep. Co.—Interest Account..	17 78
Investments.....Exhibits I and Ia.	37,654 91
Call Loans (Secured by Collateral).....	34,975 00

TOTAL ASSETS.....	<u>\$73,892 49</u>
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### LIABILITIES

FUND.	ACCOUNT.	Exhibit	
General.....	Income.....	2.	\$1,047 18
Building.....	Principal.....	" 3.	17,700 00
Building.....	Income.....	" 3.	1,486 73
Endowment.....	.....	" 4.	12,320 00
Life Membership.....	Investment.....	" 5.	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication...	Investment.....	" 6.	1,227 17
Julius Dexter Publication..	Income.....	" 6.	110 31
E. H. Appleton Memorial...	Investment.....	" 7.	4,334 55
E. H. Appleton Memorial...	Income.....	" 7.	414 43
Halsted Neave.....	Principal.....	" 8.	1,000 00
Halsted Neave.....	Investment.....	" 8.	5,982 00
Halsted Neave.....	Income.....	" 8.	695 73
Erasmus Gest.....	Investment.....	" 9.	5,449 99
Erasmus Gest.....	Income.....	" 9.	287 52
Margaret Rives King.....	Investment.....	" 10.	9,214 38
Margaret Rives King.....	Income.....	" 10.	373 05
A. J. Howe.....	Investment.....	" 11.	5,316 88
A. J. Howe.....	Income.....	" 11.	553 21
Colonial Dames.....	Investment.....	" 12.	200 00
Colonial Dames.....	Income.....	" 12.	24 15
Binding.....	Principal.....	" 13.	200 00
Binding.....	Investment.....	" 13.	892 81
Binding.....	Income.....	" 13.	25 27

TOTAL LIABILITIES.....	<u>\$73,892 49</u>
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## Schedule "B."

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
For the Year Ended November 30, 1914.

## RECEIPTS

Dues—1912.....	\$10 00	
Dues—1913.....	30 00	
Dues—1914.....	530 00	
		<u>\$570 00</u>
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
Life Membership Fund.....	\$274 50	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....	206 90	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....	52 70	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	377 50	
Binding Fund.....	39 60	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12 00	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....	261 24	
Halsted Neave Fund.....	279 30	
A. J. Howe Fund.....	236 26	
		<u>1,740 00</u>
Interest on Call Loans.....		1,968 60
Call Loans Repaid.....		1,500 00
Jane C. Neave—Donation.....		1,000 00
		<u>\$6,778 60</u>
TOTAL RECEIPTS.....		

## DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....	\$750 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....	42 75	
Janitor.....	300 00	
Printing.....	249 02	
Stationery.....	6 75	
Postage.....	21 00	
Paper for Quarterly.....	30 13	
Rent Safe Deposit Box.....	7 00	
Insurance.....	18 00	
Magazines and Papers.....	101 65	
Subscriptions and Dues.....	21 00	
Auditing Treasurer's Books.....	25 00	
Miscellaneous.....	50 53	
		<u>\$1,622 83</u>
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund—Books Purchased...	\$29 03	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	127 01	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12 50	
Binding Fund—for Binding.....	50 95	
		<u>219 49</u>
Call Loans.....		5,175 00
		<u>\$7,017 32</u>
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.....		
Excess Disbursements over Receipts.....		\$238 72
Cash in Bank and on Hand December 1, 1913.....		1,483 52
		<u>\$1,244 80</u>
Less Cash in Librarian's Hands at November 30, 1914.....		17 22
		<u>\$*1,227 85</u>
CASH IN BANK AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....		

\* Includes outstanding checks, viz.:

No. 426.....	\$12 50
No. 428.....	5 00
Total.....	<u>\$17 50</u>



Exhibit 1.

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

As at November 30, 1914.

	RATE.	PAR VALUE.	BOOK VALUE.
145 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.	6 %	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
7 C. H. & D. Ry.....Bonds.	4½%	7,000 00	7,395 00
8 C. & O. Ry.....	4½%	8,000 00	8,285 00
2 C. L. & N. Ry.....	4 %	2,000 00	1,975 00
2 N. & W. Ry.....	4 %	2,000 00	1,755 00
1 Chattanooga Station Co.....	4 %	1,000 00	930 00
1 Kineon Coal Co.....	5 %	1,000 00	1,000 00
2 Kentucky Central Ry.....	4 %	2,000 00	1,950 00
1 Cin., Newport & Cov. St. Ry.	5 %	1,000 00	1,045 00
2 Western Pacific Ry.....	5 %	2,000 00	1,870 00
1 American Book Co.....	6 %	1,000 00	1,115 00
2 St. Paul & Kan. City Short Line.....	4½%	2,000 00	1,835 00
TOTAL STOCKS AND BONDS.....		\$36,250 00	\$37,603 88
Savings Deposit—Central Trust and Safe Deposit Co.....			51 03
TOTAL FUNDS INVESTED.....			\$37,654 91

Exhibit 1a.

STATEMENT OF INVESTED FUNDS AND SAVINGS  
DEPOSITS

At November 30, 1914.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$4,425 75
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	289 00
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.....	8 00
	\$5,037 13

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$834 00
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	224 25
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co..	16 00
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	152 92
	1,227 17

# E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 C. H. & D. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$2,882 50	
13 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	677 50	
2 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	144 50	
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4% Bonds.	314 37	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	97 50	
Part Interest in St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	191 15	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.	27 03	
		4,334 55

# HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$1,000 00	
Kineon Coal Co. 5% Bond.....	1,000 00	
2 N. & W. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,755 00	
Part Interest in Ky. Cent. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	487 50	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	165 75	
1 American Book Co. 6% Bond.....	1,115 00	
Part Interest in St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
		5,982 00

# MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$4,512 50	
7 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	481 25	
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.	1,551 25	
Part Interest in Ky. Cent. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,462 50	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	390 00	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
5 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock 6%.....	358 13	
		9,214 38

# COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	200 00	
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# BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$680 63	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bond.....	97 50	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	114 68	
		892 81

# ERASMUS GEST FUND:

1 C. & O. Ry. 4½% \$1,000.00 Bond.....	\$1,017 50	
1 Chattanooga Station Co. \$1,000.00 4% Bond...	930 00	
1 Cincinnati, Newport & Cov. St. Ry. 5% Bond..	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Ry. \$1,000.00 4% Bonds.....	1,870 00	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	229 37	
5 Shares Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. 6% Stock....	358 12	
		5,449 99

# A. J. HOWE FUND:

5 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$5,087 50	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	229 38	
		5,316 88
		<u>\$37,654 91</u>

Exhibit 2  
GENERAL FUND  
At November 30, 1914.

INCOME	
Dues—1912.....	\$10 00
Dues—1913.....	30 00
Dues—1914.....	540 00
Transfer from Endowment Fund, being interest on this fund loaned to Building Fund.....	615 00
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account.....	274 93
Interest on Call Loans.....	188 46
<b>TOTAL INCOME.....</b>	<b>\$1,658 39</b>
DISBURSEMENTS	
Salary of Librarian.....	\$750 00
Assistant to Librarian.....	42 75
Janitor.....	300 00
Printing.....	249 02
Stationery.....	6 75
Postage.....	21 00
Paper for Quarterly.....	30 13
Rent Safe Deposit Box.....	7 00
Insurance.....	18 00
Magazines and Papers.....	101 65
Subscriptions and Dues.....	21 00
Librarian's Dues.....	10 00
Auditing Treasurer's Books.....	25 00
Miscellaneous.....	50 53
<b>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.....</b>	<b>1,632 83</b>
Excess Receipts over Disbursements.....	\$25 56
Credit Balance at November 30, 1913.....	1,021 62
<b>CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....</b>	<b>\$1,047 18</b>

Exhibit 3.  
BUILDING FUND  
At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT	
RECEIPTS:	
Interest on Secured Call Loans.....	\$1,442 20
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Interest on Endowment Fund.....	615 00
Excess Receipts over Disbursements.....	\$827 20
Add—Credit Balance at November 30, 1913.....	659 53
<b>CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....</b>	<b>\$1,486 73</b>
PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT	
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	\$17,700 00
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....	17,700 00



Exhibit 4.

ENDOWMENT FUND

At November 30, 1914.

RECEIPTS:

INCOME ACCOUNT

Interest on Loans to Building Fund, Transferred to General Fund.....	\$615 00
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PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	\$12,320 00
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....	12,320 00

Exhibit 5.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

At November 30, 1914.

RECEIPTS:

INCOME ACCOUNT

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends.....	\$261 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	13 50
Interest on Savings Deposit.....	43

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	\$274 93
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DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund.....	\$274 93
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INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	\$5,037 13
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....	\$5,037 13

Exhibit 6.

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913.....	\$56 73
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RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$36 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	7 50
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	9 20
Interest on Savings Deposit Account.....	88

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	\$53 58
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CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914....	\$110 31
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INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	\$1,227 17
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....	1,227 17

Exhibit 7.

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$235 24

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$45 00
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	135 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	13 50
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	9 40
Interest on Savings Deposit Account.....	1 32

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 208 22

\$443 46

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased..... 29 03

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.... \$414 43

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$4,334 55

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... \$4,334 55

Exhibit 8.

HALSTED NEAVE FUND

At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$375 03

RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$46 80
Ky. Cent. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	20 00
N. & W. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	80 00
Kineon Coal Co.—Bond Interest.....	50 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	22 50
American Book Co.—Bond Interest.....	60 00
Interest on Call Loans.....	41 40

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 320 70

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.... \$695 73

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,982 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... \$5,982 00

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

January 24, 1914—Donation by Jane C. Neave..... \$1,000 00

## Exhibit 9.

## ERASMUS GEST FUND

At November 30, 1914.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$26 28

## RECEIPTS:

Western Pacific Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$100 00
Cin., Newport & Cov. St. Ry. Co.—Bond Interest.....	50 00
Chattanooga Station Co.—Bond Interest.....	40 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	45 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	11 24
Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	15 00

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 261 24

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.... \$287 52

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,449 99CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... \$5,449 99

## Exhibit 10

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

At November 30, 1914.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$122 56

## RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$36 00
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	180 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	63 00
Ky. Cent. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	60 00
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	16 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	22 50

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 377 50

\$500 06

## DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased..... 127 01

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.... \$373 05

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$9,214 38CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... \$9,214 38



Exhibit 11.

A. J. HOWE FUND  
At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$316 95

RECEIPTS:

C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest..... \$225 00  
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest..... 11 26

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 236 26

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... \$553 21

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$5,316 88

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... 5,316 88

Exhibit 12.

COLONIAL DAMES FUND  
At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$24 65

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends..... 12 00

\$36 65

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased..... 12 50

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.... \$24 15

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913..... \$200 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914..... 200 00

Exhibit 13.

BINDING FUND  
At November 30, 1914.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1913..... \$27 00

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$30 00
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	5 60
Interest on Call Loans.....	9 62

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	49 22
	<u>\$76 22</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

For Binding.....	\$50 95
	<u>\$25 27</u>

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914....

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913....	<u>\$892 81</u>
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CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914....	<u>\$892 81</u>
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PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1913.....	<u>\$200 00</u>
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CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1914.....	<u>\$200 00</u>
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## REPORT OF AUDITOR

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DECEMBER 1, 1914.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

SIRS:

We have audited the books and accounts of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ended November 30, 1914.

As a part of this report, we submit the following Schedules, which are accompanied by Exhibits, showing in detail the various items contained therein.

*Schedule "A"*—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30, 1914.

*Schedule "B"*—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30, 1914.

Receipts shown to have been received have been properly accounted for, and disbursements have been made in accordance with authorized vouchers on file. Cash as shown on deposit at November 30, 1914, has been verified.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been examined and are in agreement with the account as shown by Exhibit 1.

We hereby certify that the above Schedules correctly show the operation for the year ended November 30, 1914, and the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1914.

GEO. R. LAMB,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*



## CORPORATE MEMBERS

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Anderson, Larz W.	Holmes, John R.
Anderson, William H.	James, Davis L.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Keys, Miss Mary E.
Ault, L. A.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Balke, Rudolph F.	Levy, Harry M.
Brunswick, B. H.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Caldwell, Charles E.	Meador, A. B.
Callahan, John R.	Nippert, Alfred K.
Carew, Joseph T.	Outcalt, Miller
Clark, Jesse R.	Patterson, Jefferson
Dabney, Charles W.	Patterson, John H.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Patterson, Robert
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henschman	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Drapeer, Walter A.	Procter, William Cooper
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Foley, B. W.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Shillito, Stewart
Foster, William Lytle	Shinkle, A. Clifford
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Storer, Bellamy
Freiburg, Maurice J.	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Strong, Edward W.
Gates, John	Taft, Charles P.
Goepper, Edward	Voorheis, Albert B.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Whitcomb, Merrick
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Harrison, William H.	Winslow, Mrs. John F.
Hinkle, Mrs. A. Howard	Wolf, James J.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Worthington, Edward
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, William

## LIFE MEMBERS

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Bliss, Eugene F.	Livingood, Charles J.
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Fleischmann, Julius	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Thomson, Peter G.
Gest, Joseph H.	Vail, Henry H.
Jones, Frank J.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Laws, Miss Annie	Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

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Adams, Charles Francis	Hayes, E. G.
Bixby, William K.	Heath, William McK.
Cox, Isaac J.	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Morrow, Josiah
Galbreath, Charles P.	Thayer, William R.
Green, Samuel A.	Young, Bennett H.

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## HONORARY MEMBERS

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Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Taft, William H.
Hulbert, Archer B.	Venable, William H.

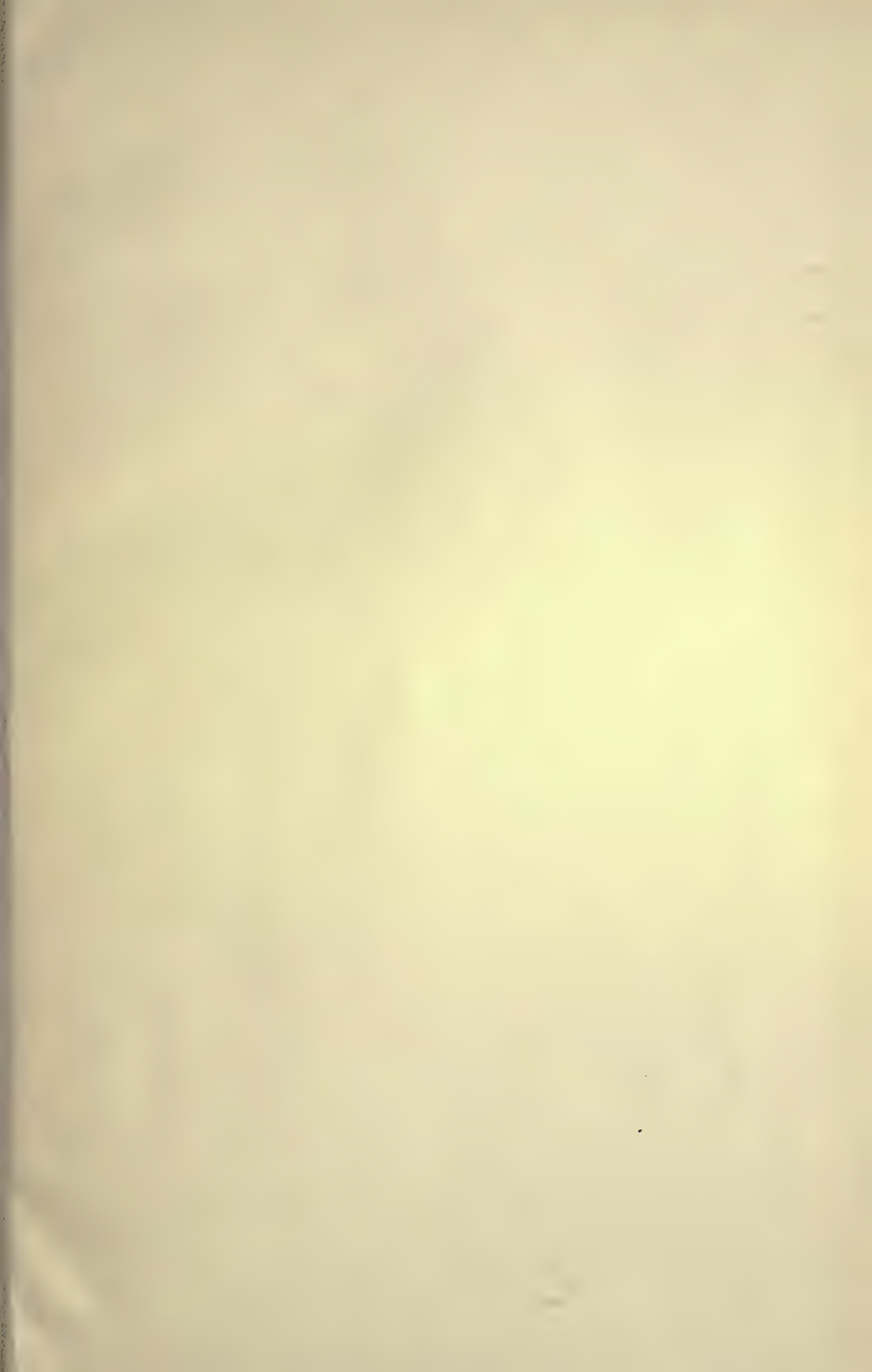
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## DIED

Mrs. Louise Nettleton Anderson, February 23, 1914.  
Griffin Taylor Miller, April 3, 1914.  
Melville E. Ingalls, July 11, 1914.  
Obed J. Wilson, August 31, 1914.















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Quarterly publication

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